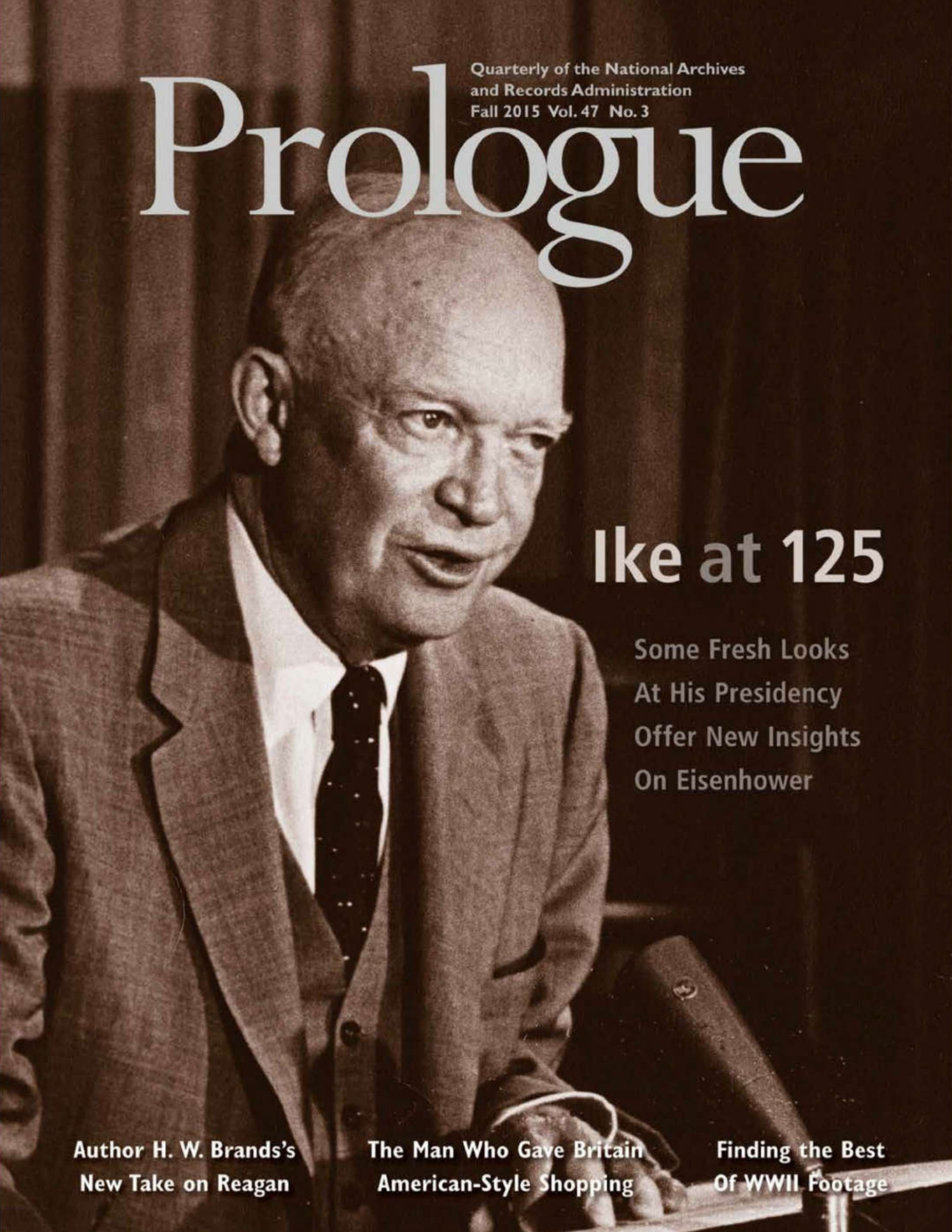




Quarterly of the National Archives
and Records Administration
Fall 2015 Vol. 47 No. 3

Prologue

Ike at 125

Some Fresh Looks
At His Presidency
Offer New Insights
On Eisenhower

Author H. W. Brands's
New Take on Reagan

The Man Who Gave Britain
American-Style Shopping

Finding the Best
Of WWII Footage

"small man", "dead cats", etc. etc. have excited comment and ridicule -- and this last is one of the greatest enemies to any effort depending upon public opinion. But the basic soundness of his methods (and I assume also of the principles of the N.R.A. effort) are demonstrated by the fact that in spite of all this ridicule the mass of our newspapers agree that the N.R.A. is really making headway.

The Agricultural Adjustment administration, on the other hand, has experienced the same difficulties as have the P.W.A., C.W.A. and so on. The papers are just now full of stories concerning an alleged fight going on between Mr. Peek, head of the A.A.A., on the one hand, and Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lugwell, Sec. & Asst. Sec. of Agriculture respectively, on the other. The mere fact that such a fight can begin and rage between two principal agents of the President, both responsible for important phases of his program for agricultural rehabilitation, is evidence of faulty organization. Only history can render a verdict as to the wisdom of Pres. Roosevelt's policies. But -- as definitely as has ever been done in this country -- the people gave the Pres. a mandate to revise our economic processes and to take charge of our nation in leading it out of the wilderness of depression. The only chance for success is to follow where the Pres. leads. No matter what other scheme may be theoretically more applicable to our difficulties, the fact remains that this is the only one that can be tried during the next three years. Therefore unified support must be given.

I do not decry the value of proper criticism in the newspapers and elsewhere. The advocates of money stabilization

Prologue

Fall 2015 Vol. 47 No. 3

QUARTERLY of the NATIONAL ARCHIVES and RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



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Articles are selected for publication by the editor in consultation with experts. The editor reserves the right to make changes in articles accepted for publication and will consult the author should substantive questions arise. Published articles do not necessarily represent the views of NARA or of any other agency of the U.S. Government.

Prospective authors are encouraged to discuss their work with the editor prior to submission. Articles may be submitted as either an e-mail attachment or as hard copy. The *Prologue* office uses MS Word but can accept any common word-processing format. Correspondence regarding contributions and all other editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001; prologue@nara.gov.

Subscriptions and Reprints. U.S. subscription rates are \$24 for one year; rates for subscribers outside the United States are \$30. Single issues of the current volume are available for \$6 each (add \$3 shipping for orders up to \$50). Send a check or money order to National Archives and Records Administration, *Prologue* Subscriptions, National Archives Trust Fund, Cashier (NAT), 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent within six months of its publication date. Microfilm copies of *Prologue* are available from ProQuest Information and Learning, P.O. Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346. *Prologue's* web site is at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration (ISSN 0033-1031) is published quarterly by the National Archives Trust Fund Board, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, MD 20740-6001. Periodicals postage paid at College Park, MD, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to *Prologue*, National Archives and Records Administration, NPAC/Room 400, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20408-0001. INDEXED in Acad. Abstr., Amer. Hist. & Life. Bibl. Cart., Hist. Abst. (Pts. A & B), Hum. Ind., Mag. Art. Sum., U.S. Govt. Per. Ind., Writ. Am. Hist., & Winter *Prologue*.

Printed in the United States of America.

EDITOR'S NOTE

WELCOME TO *PROLOGUE'S* OBSERVANCE OF THE 125th anniversary of the birth of Dwight David Eisenhower, who conceived and launched the biggest military invasion ever and later served as our President for eight years.



Eisenhower's place in history was secure long before he took the oath as President. The success of that historic invasion on D-day, June 6, 1944, brought an end to the Nazi regime in less than a year.

In this issue, we offer three articles that look at Eisenhower and his presidency from different vantage points by authors who have spent hours, days, and weeks pouring through records at the Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas, and elsewhere.

Your "Eisenhower experience" starts on page 6.

With this issue, we bid farewell to our valued colleague, Senior Editor Benjamin Guterman, who is retiring from the National Archives after 24 years of service. Ben has been a member of the *Prologue* staff for 19 of those years—helping to decide what gets published and what doesn't. He's helped to shape articles, verify their accuracy, deal with authors, select the right images to supplement the words, and ensure that the authors, page designers, and editors were all happy with the final product.

It takes a special talent to do this, and Ben used his to *Prologue's* benefit. Besides his *Prologue* duties, he edited exhibit scripts, *Researcher News*, annual reports for certain offices within NARA, and countless other projects.

We wish Ben well in his retirement, and we will miss his wisdom, his sound advice and judgments, and the class he has brought to our work on *Prologue*.

There's lots more *Prologue* on our blog at <http://blogs.archives.gov/prologue> and on our website at www.archives.gov/publications/prologue.

JAMES WORSHAM

Assembling the Obama Library

BY DAVID S. FERRIERO



You've probably heard by now that President Obama will locate his presidential library in Chicago's South Side.

"All the strands of my life came together and I really became a man when I moved to Chicago," he said in revealing where he wanted his library to be.

"That's where I met my wife. That's where my children were born, and the people there, the community, the lessons that I learned, they are all based right in these few square miles," the President said.

Chicago's South Side is already home to the prestigious University of Chicago, the famed Museum of Science and Industry, and the Chicago White Sox, the President's favorite baseball team. It is also an area of Chicago with a wide gap in incomes, resulting in neighborhoods that range from impoverished to affluent.

The Obama Library will increase NARA's presence on Chicago's South Side, where we already have the National Archives at Chicago and a Federal Records Center.

When the library, to be built by the Barack Obama Foundation with private funds, is complete, it will be turned over to the National Archives and become the 14th in our system of presidential libraries that date back to Herbert Hoover's.

Like some of the other libraries, it will be part of a larger entity, in this case the Obama Presidential Center.

NARA already has begun its important role in this transition. We are working with the White House staff to determine the volume of textual, electronic, and audiovisual records, as well as the number of artifacts, that must be moved out of the White House by the end of Obama's term on January 20, 2017.

And we will work with the Obama Foundation as it builds the library to ensure that it meets our environmental, archival, and safety standards.

On January 20, 2017, the records of President Obama and Vice President Joseph Biden become property of the government under the Presidential Records Act. The act was signed into law in 1978 in the wake of Watergate-era concern over the tradition of private ownership of presidential materials.

These records include textual and audiovisual records, along with artifacts, which include gifts to the President from heads of state as well as from private citizens from America and around the world.

The Department of Defense will provide both manpower and assistance in transporting the material, which will occur mostly by truck. However, NARA will be responsible for the security of the records and artifacts as they are shipped.

Also to be moved will be the electronic records of the Obama administration. The transfer of electronic records is one of the most complex and challenging parts of a presidential transition since the volume and variety of records generated or received by presidential administrations has increased exponentially.

These electronic records must be transferred from White House systems and verified and indexed for ingest into NARA's Electronic Records Archives, which allows processing of electronic records for eventual release through the National Archives Catalog.

While the electronic records will be housed in NARA's data center, the other records and artifacts will go to a temporary location that will serve as a de facto library for several years until the library itself is built and ready for occupancy. NARA is currently working with the General Services Administration to procure a lease for a temporary facility in the Chicago area. Both this site, and the library itself, must meet NARA's requirements.

Our staff will seek to start moving materials from the White House in October or November of 2016.

When the library is complete, the Obama Foundation will turn it over to the Archives along with a payment equal to 60 percent of the construction costs to serve as an endowment to help maintain the facility.

The Obama facility will be operated by NARA with a staff of federal employees hired by this agency under Civil Service rules and headed by a director I will appoint in consultation with the President.

And once it's open, it will provide a history not only of the administration of the nation's 44th President but also of the times in which he served in the White House.

*Join the Archivist at his own blog at
<http://blogs.archives.gov/aotus>
and visit NARA's website at www.archives.gov.*

Archivist of the United States

JULY 30 (legislative day, JULY 29) 1954

FLANDERS submitted the following resolution; which was ordered to be printed

ported by Mr. Watkins from the select committee created pursuant to order of the Senate of August 2, 1954, with amendments

omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, is contrary to the honor and dignity of the United States Senate, is contrary to the traditions and customs of the Senate, and tends to bring the Senate into disrepute, and is hereby condemned.

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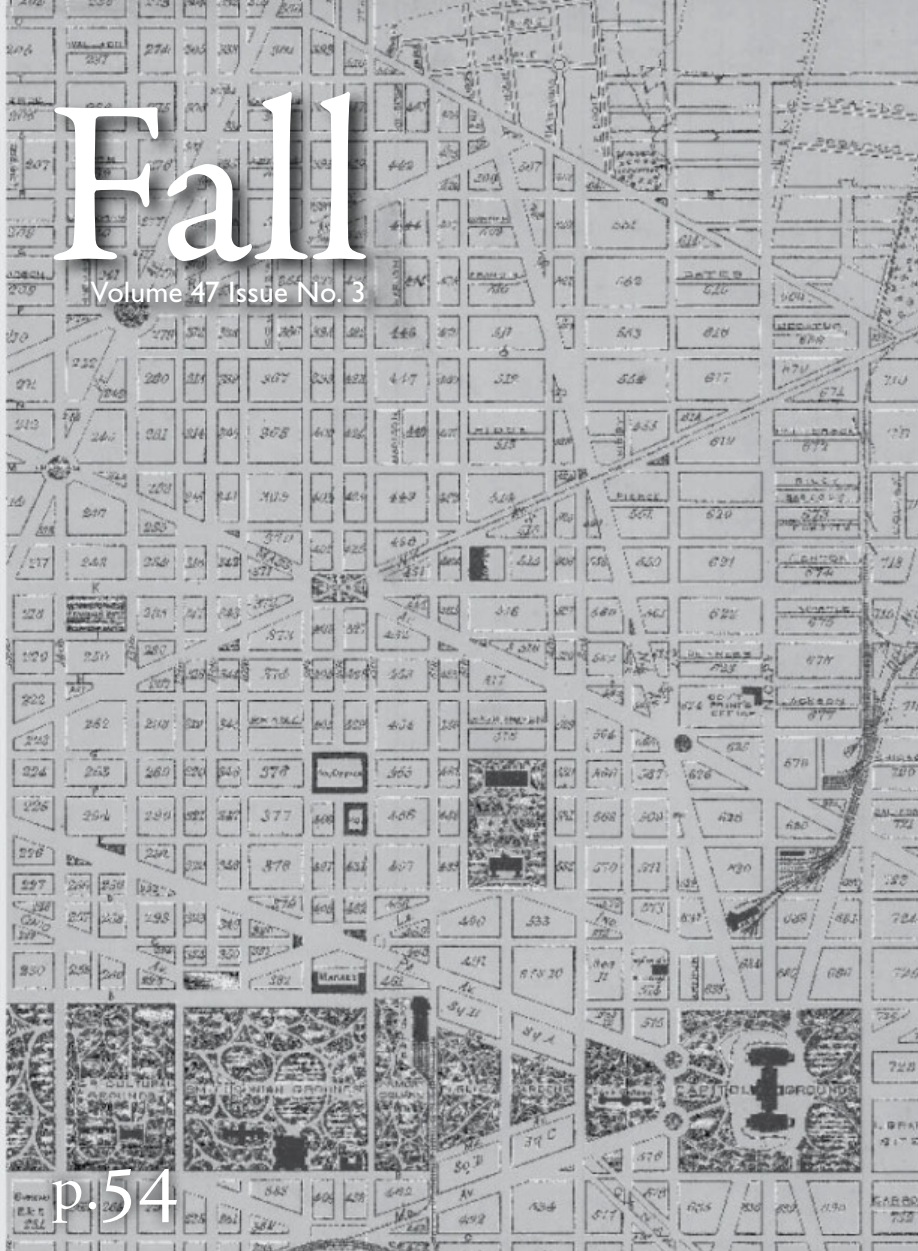
The Foundation welcomes a new board member, and its chair describes how supporters are helping the Archives' outreach programs.

72 Pieces of History

Edgar Allen Poe's financial woes are reflected in his bankruptcy petition.

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www.archives.gov/publications/prologue

Front cover: President Eisenhower addresses the nation from the White House during a special broadcast on the Little Rock situation, September 24, 1957. This issue celebrates the 125th anniversary of the birth of President Dwight D. Eisenhower with articles that reassess his presidential leadership.

Inside front cover: As the young Eisenhower observed the heated debates and contention in the first 100 days of the New Deal, he wrote that the President's reforms of the nation's "economic processes" should be supported, to see if they would lead the nation "out of the wilderness of depression."

Back cover: President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev walk on the White House grounds to board a military helicopter for the flight to Camp David, September 15, 1959.

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This is Archives @ThisIsArchives · Aug 7
A @JFKLibrary archives greatest hit: JFK's handwritten Inaugural (we promise there are a few "ask nots" in there)



This is Archives @ThisIsArchives · Jul 15
There is a lot of humidification getting done today. Cindy and Rebecca are working at the humidification dome.



This is Archives @ThisIsArchives · Jun 15
Audrey at her inspection bench. Audrey also manages and edits The Unwritten Record. unwritten-record.blogs.archives.gov



This is Archives @ThisIsArchives · Jun 1
I start Mondays with physical labor—refiles. Pick them up in the Search/Refile Hub, put them back where they belong.



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Ike at 125

After a Rapid Rise in the Army, He Is Coaxed into the White House

The eastbound train that stopped in Abilene, Kansas, on a June afternoon in 1911 took on a very important passenger.

A young man was leaving his parents and five brothers, embarking on his first trip east. His destination: the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, where he would join the new class of cadets, the Class of 1915.

His final destination, however, would not be West Point, or any of the many cities and countries he would visit over his 78 years. His final destination—with help along the way from powerful and influential mentors—would be the history books.

At West Point, “Ike” (a childhood moniker that stuck with him all his life) graduated 61st in the Class of 1915—known as “the class the stars fell on” because 59 of the 164 graduates would become general officers.

During his long career, Dwight David Eisenhower witnessed, participated in, and influenced or determined the outcome of some of the most important events of the 20th century.

But in June 1911, all that was well in the future.

Ike and his brothers grew up in a modest house that still sits on the grounds of the Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum in Abilene, on the vast Kansas prairie about 160 miles west of Kansas City.

Money for college was scarce in the Eisenhower family, so Ike took the exam for West Point, where he could get a free education. He scored well and was admitted. Upon

graduation, however, he drew postings that kept him far from the action in World War I.

The postwar era, with the active Army dramatically scaled back and few opportunities for advancements, was nonetheless an important period for Eisenhower. He worked for and with some of the most influential men in the Army and impressed them all: General of the Armies John J. Pershing; Gen. Fox Conner, one of the Army's leading strategic thinkers; and a young officer with stars in *his* future named George C. Marshall.

They all played roles in advancing Eisenhower's Army career—by ensuring his acceptance into the Army's prestigious officer training schools and securing important postings that would enhance his credentials. He even spent several years as an aide to Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

But in the 1930s, war clouds formed over Europe and the Pacific. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, Eisenhower, by then a brigadier general, was summoned to Washington, reporting to George C. Marshall, who had risen to become Army chief of staff.

His job under Marshall: Create plans to defeat Germany and Japan. Soon Marshall sent him to Europe and North Africa. There, he assumed increasing responsibilities commanding Allied troops, even though he had no prior experience commanding troops in combat.

In his new role, he put to use those political skills that Pershing, Conner, and Marshall had seen in him. They were essential in his dealings as Supreme Allied Commander with such dominant personalities as Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Bernard Montgomery, Charles de Gaulle, and Joseph Stalin.

As America's industries began tooling up to produce tanks, artillery, and other war materiel in 1942 and 1943, Allied troops did what they could to push the Germans out of North Africa and Italy. But Eisenhower knew that he had to get a lot of well-supplied troops on the ground in western Europe to defeat the Nazis.

That time finally came on June 6, 1944: the D-day invasion of western Europe. Roosevelt had chosen him over Marshall to head Operation Overlord, the biggest invasion with the biggest army in history. It was all his show, and he knew it. He even wrote a note, saying that if it failed, "the fault is mine and mine alone."

But it didn't fail, and despite setbacks as the Allies drove toward and into Germany. Within a year, the Third Reich collapsed and the Germans surrendered.

Now a five-star general, Eisenhower returned home as a hero, his place in history already secured. He took

Marshall's place as Army chief of staff. In 1948, he resisted pressure to run for President and instead accepted the presidency of Columbia University until 1951, when President Harry S. Truman called on him to be the first supreme commander of NATO troops.

But that didn't stop the clamor to put Eisenhower in the White House. So finally in 1952 he said yes, agreeing to run with Senator Richard Nixon as his running mate. They beat the Democratic ticket, led by Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, and even pulled in a GOP-controlled Congress eager to dismantle the New Deal.

But Eisenhower, a moderate conservative, refused to dismantle the New Deal programs instituted by Roosevelt and continued by Truman. Instead, he wrapped many of them up in a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He even expanded Social Security.

But the Soviets' launching of their Sputnik satellite pointed to another need: national defense. In the name of national defense, he began what is now the system of Interstate highways; established a research program at the Pentagon that eventually led to the Internet; set up the National Defense Education Act, which included student loans; and put a new emphasis on nuclear deterrence.

After two decades of depression and war, Americans were eager for peace and prosperity, and Eisenhower was their man. He brought the Korean War to an end with an armistice in 1953 and warned against U.S. involvement in Asian conflicts.

The 1950s, with Eisenhower in the White House, are often thought of as a sleepy decade when nothing happened. Not so.

The Eisenhower years witnessed events emerging from serious challenges that would explode in the 1960s: Race relations and civil rights. Space exploration. Communist aggression in Southeast Asia. Opposition at home to U.S. participation in wars. A continuation of the Cold War.

Eisenhower and his wife, Mamie, retired to their farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where he worked on his presidential memoirs and from which he traveled to play golf. At his request, Congress and President John Kennedy restored the five-star rank he gave up to become President.

He is buried on the grounds of his library in Abilene, in his "Ike jacket" uniform with the only decorations being the symbol of his rank and the three favorite ribbons of the 75 he was authorized to wear.

The three articles that follow examine how Eisenhower's vision of the frontier changed, how his reputation among historians is evolving, and how he worked covertly to bring down Senator Joseph McCarthy.



EISENHOWER, *the* FRONTIER, *and the* NEW DEAL

*Ike Considers America's Frontier Gone,
Embraces, Adds to FDR's Legacy*

BY TIMOTHY RIVES

This year marks the 125th anniversary of both the birth of Dwight D. Eisenhower and the U.S. Census Bureau's declaration that the American frontier had closed.

The events are related, for Eisenhower's understanding of the frontier's demise shaped his ideas on the proper role of government and, as a result, led him to affirm New Deal social welfare programs.

The primary evidence for this claim is found in letters at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library between Eisenhower, former General of the Army and 34th President of the United States, and a military comrade named Bradford G. Chynoweth. Ike and Chyn, as the men were known to friends, met in Panama in the early 1920s during one of the most formative periods in Eisenhower's life. His assignment as executive officer of the 20th Infantry Brigade under Gen. Fox Conner—a leading Army thinker—would be “a sort of graduate school in military affairs and the humanities,” Eisenhower wrote in his memoir *At Ease*.

Ike's boyhood love of history, which had slackened under the rote memorization of West Point instruction, revived under Conner's tutelage as he worked his way through classics of history and philosophy, debating the finer points over long trail rides and around campfires with Conner and fellow officers like Chynoweth.

Ike left Panama in 1924 with a new zeal for his profession. In relatively brisk order, he would march through a series of Army schools and brilliant assignments with the assistant secretary of war and the Army chief of staff, climaxing some years later as the Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force in the Second World War.

In short, scholars note, the Fox Conner “school” helped put Eisenhower on his historic trajectory to the White House.

IKE, CHYN EXCHANGE LETTERS, DEBATE ISSUES

A 1954 letter from Chynoweth early in Ike's first presidential term offered a chance to relive “the very fine and heated debates” he had shared with Chyn in Panama some 30 years earlier.

Brig. Gen. Bradford G. Chynoweth was a brilliant, if acerbic, man who spent most of the Second World War in a Japanese prisoner of war of camp. Chyn left the Army after the war to pursue studies at the University of California, Berkeley, where classroom encounters with liberal professors honed his self-described “radical Republican” beliefs.

Now he aimed these beliefs at his old friend, the President. He deviated from Eisenhower's moderate, “middle of the road” policies, he said, but still wanted to express his “great admiration for your ability to stand up to pressures that would crush many men.

“Courage is three-fourths of the battle, and you have it,” he told Ike.

Ike acknowledged Chyn's note with a short one of his own, but on second thought decided to rekindle their Panamanian conversations with a much longer rejoinder—a full-fledged defense of his moderate political philosophy.

Eisenhower had promoted the “Middle Way,” as he characterized his ideas on government, from the late 1940s, when he made his first public comments on the role of the state, until the end of his life in 1969. (His last article for *Reader's Digest* magazine, published the month following his death, was on the Middle Way.)

Eisenhower's Middle Way speeches and articles consistently promoted a bright centrist line between concentrations of unbridled private power on one side of the road and unlimited state power on the other. Eisenhower viewed the march of American history as a struggle to stay the middle course. His political heroes Abraham Lincoln and



Left: Eisenhower as a young cadet. He was stationed in Panama in the early 1920s, where he benefited from studies and debates on history and philosophy under Gen. Fox Conner, a leading Army thinker.

General Chynoweth - 2.

of the items on which these extreme views were taken was slavery. So we had a Calhoun on one side and a Sumner on another. Lincoln, even more than Clay, stood halfway between.

Coming down to our own day, we have those individuals who believe that the Federal government should enter into every phase and facet of our individual lives, controlling agriculture, industry and education, as well as the development of every natural resource in our country. These people, knowingly or unknowingly, are trying to put us on the path toward socialism. At the other extreme we have the people -- and I know quite a number of them -- who want to eliminate everything that the Federal government has ever done that, in one way or another, represents what is generally classified as social advance. For example, all of the regulatory commissions established in Washington are anathema to these people. They want to abolish them completely. They believe that there should be no trade union laws and the government should do nothing even to encourage pension plans and other forms of social security in our industry.

When I refer to the Middle Way, I merely mean the middle way as it represents a practical working basis between extremists, both of whose doctrines I flatly reject. It seems to me that no great intelligence is required in order to discern the practical necessity of establishing some kind of security for individuals in a specialized and highly industrialized age. At one time such security was provided by the existence of free land and a great mass of untouched and valuable natural resources throughout our country. These are no longer to be had for the asking; we have had experiences of millions of



Theodore Roosevelt were men of the middle, Ike liked to say, pointing to Lincoln's Homestead Act and Roosevelt's corporate "trust-busting" as examples.

**IKE SEES TWO SIDES
IN THE CONSTITUTION**

To Chynoweth, Ike explained how the Constitution was "nothing else so much as an effort to find a middle way between the political extremists of that particular time. On the one side were the individualists—the fanatical believers in a degree of personal freedom that amounted almost to nihilism. . . . At the other extreme were the great believers in centralized government—those who mistrusted the decisions reached by popular majorities."

Ike noted the same split in contemporary politics. There were those who wanted the federal government to "control every phase of our individual lives" versus those who wanted to "eliminate everything that the Federal government has ever done that . . . represents what is generally classified as social advance."

Eisenhower's plan to expand Social Security by 10.5 million workers in 1954 was wending its way through Congress that summer. The issue was probably the impetus for Chynoweth's initial spiny missive to his friend. Ike sensed this and moved to its defense.

"It seems to me," Eisenhower said, "that no great intelligence is required in order to discern the practical necessity of establishing some kind of security for individuals in a specialized and highly industrialized age. At one time such security was provided by the existence of free land and a great mass of untouched and valuable natural resources. These are no longer to be had for the asking."

Ike's letters to Chynoweth repeat arguments he made elsewhere in defense of the Middle Way. But this reference to the loss of "free land" and "natural resources" was something new, and it reveals the Middle Way's intellectual debt to a strain of political thought not commonly associated with Eisenhower.

**FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER
INSPIRES PROGRESSIVE IDEAS**

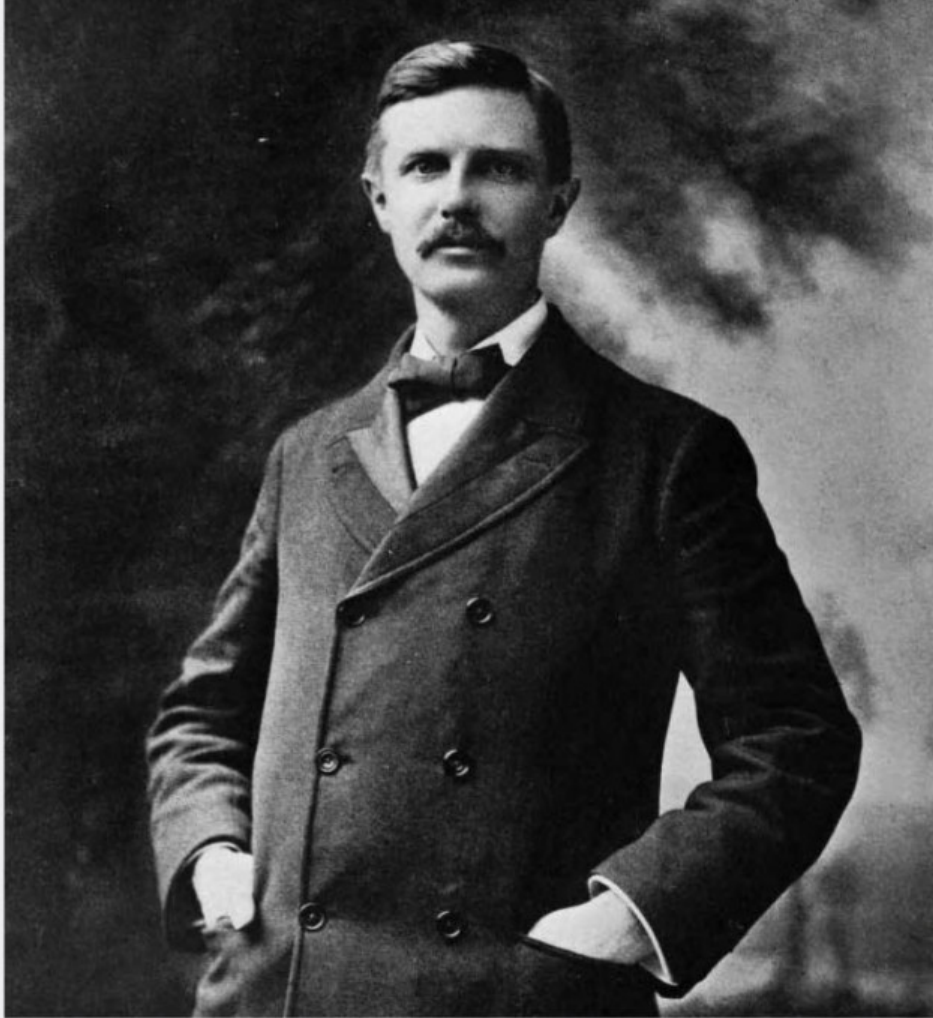
Understanding how Ike made the connection between the extinction of the frontier and the necessity for federal welfare programs requires a look back to, of all places, the 1893 World's Fair.

The Census Bureau's 1890 pronouncement of the frontier's extinction had gathered little notice outside of specialist circles until a young Wisconsin historian named Frederick Jackson Turner presented his interpretation of the closure at a meeting of the American Historical Association (AHA)

in July 1893. The AHA met that year at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago for a "World's Congress of Historians and Historical Students," a nod to high culture by event organizers who wanted to present visitors with something more than cheap amusements and confections.

An eclectic scholarly program offering the public a range of talks from "English Popular Uprisings in the Middle Ages" to "Early Lead Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin" preceded Turner's own lecture on the "Significance of the Frontier in American History."

Although conference observers reported little of Turner's talk in their reviews at the



TURNER'S IDEAS INFLUENCE TWO FUTURE PRESIDENTS

Addressing the AHA again in 1910, Turner reported:

[T]he present finds itself engaged in the task of readjusting its old ideals to new conditions and is turning increasingly to government to preserve its traditional democracy. It is not surprising that socialism shows noteworthy gains as elections continue; that parties are forming on new lines; that the demand for primary elections, for popular choice of senators, initiative, referendum, and recall is spreading, and that the regions once the center of pioneer democracy exhibit these tendencies in the most marked degree. They are efforts to find substitutes for that former safeguard of democracy, the disappearing free lands. They are the sequence to the extinction of the frontier.

An important corollary to the Turner thesis was the belief that the free land of the frontier had provided a “safety valve” of economic relief to eastern factory workers thrown from their jobs by recession or depression. The safety valve must also be recreated by the state in the form of direct government relief to those unemployed by the dislocations of an industrialized economy.

From its somewhat drowsy academic start in Chicago, the “frontier thesis” advanced steadily into the new century. The thesis won wide circulation by a combination of academic and popular promotion by Turner in seminars to graduate students, encyclopedia entries, teacher resource guides, and essays in popular magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Turner, a gifted orator, also proselytized fellow historians and the general public with an ambitious lecture schedule. Influential academic friends such as future President Woodrow Wilson, Turner’s former fellow graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University, also eagerly helped spread his

Above Historian Frederick Jackson Turner’s influential “frontier thesis” declared the end of the American frontier as a safety valve for Americans. Many, including Eisenhower, were swayed by new ideas that the state would now have to mitigate the disruptive changes wrought by modern social changes. Opposite: Eisenhower spelled out his political and social views in a July 13, 1954, letter to his close friend Brig. Gen. Bradford G. Chynoweth, with whom he had enjoyed “fine and heated debates” during their service in Panama. The President wrote of a Middle Way, “a practical working basis between extremists.”

time, his “frontier thesis” would dominate the interpretation of American history for more than a generation and remains a matter of academic debate to this day.

Turner’s “frontier thesis,” simply stated, concluded: “The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development.” The frontier—not memes of primitive European social organization—accounted for a distinctive American polity, both democratically egalitarian and ruggedly individualistic, according to Turner.

Free land was the “most significant thing” about the frontier, Turner claimed. “So long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency [that is, a livelihood] exists, and *economic power secures political power*.” To Turner,

the closing of the frontier meant much more than merely the end of a major chapter in American history; the loss of free land meant that economic security and political freedoms must be built on a new foundation.

The new foundation that Turner and his “Progressive” interpreters would identify over the coming years was the state. “Progressivism,” an umbrella term for the wide-ranging reform efforts at work in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was an attempt to mitigate the disruptive changes wrought by industrialization, urbanization, and immigration through government action.

The closing of the frontier provided further proof to the Progressives that the state must respond in novel ways to the complexities of a new age.

ideas beyond the efforts of other scholars with frontier theories of their own.

Turner's "frontier thesis" was so widely known by the 1930s that the first published bibliography of its influence amassed 125 entries; by 1985 the bibliography had grown to nearly 250 *pages* of citations. Turner's fame grew so great, his thesis became so prevalent, that like the works of Sigmund Freud, the "Significance of the Frontier in American History" wasn't read so much as it was inhaled at cocktail parties. Ideas about the frontier's extinction were in the air, and nowhere was that air thicker than among the early New Dealers.

Most importantly, one of them was Turner's former Harvard student, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Turner's presence is clear in Roosevelt's most important speech of the 1932 campaign: the September 23 address on "Progressive Government" to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco. With the country deep in its Great Depression, Roosevelt laid out his understanding of the nation's predicament, its cause, and its solution.

"A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates the equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists," Roosevelt said. "Our industrial plant is built. . . . Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go for a fresh start.

"Our task now," he averred, "is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come."

The "enlightened administration" demanded for these post-frontier times, according to Roosevelt, would be the New Deal, an amalgam of reforms and programs that would transform the relationship between the citizen and the state; and the state and the economy. Social Security, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority are among its many living legacies.

THE NEW DEAL'S NRA: SUBSTITUTE FOR FRONTIER

The National Recovery Administration (NRA), however, was the New Deal's most ambitious attempt at post-frontier "enlightened administration." The NRA was established to revitalize industry and trade, grow employment, and improve labor conditions through codes of fair competition to govern industries and trades, and through the President's reemployment agreement, a general code for voluntary compliance until specific industry and trade codes could be approved. Or in NRA Director Hugh S. Johnson's plainer words, the NRA was "a safety valve like our vanished frontiers."

Conservatives, predominately Republicans, saw nothing of the sort in the NRA or in most New Deal programs. President Herbert Hoover attacked Roosevelt's Commonwealth Club speech during the 1932 campaign as "a philosophy of stagnation and despair." Once out of office he continued the battle throughout the 1930s, his criticism broadly representative of the conservative reaction to the New Dealer arguments.

In sum, Hoover and his fellow conservatives believed the New Deal concept of the "frontier" was too small. New worlds were yet to be conquered.

"There are vast continents awaiting us of thought, of research, of discovery, of industry, of human relations, potentially more prolific of human comfort and happiness than even the 'Boundless West,'" Hoover



The National Recovery Administration (NRA) was a prominent example of New Deal policies to help the unemployed through codes of fair competition to govern industries and trades.

wrote in *The Challenge to Liberty* in 1934. "But they can be conquered and applied to human service only by sustaining free men, free in spirit, free to enterprise, for such men alone discover the new continents of science and social thought and push back their frontiers. Free men pioneer and achieve in these regions; regimented men under bureaucratic dictation march listlessly, without confidence and hope," he said.

IKE, NOW PRESIDENT, RENEWS DISCUSSIONS WITH CHYNOWETH

Such was the argument picked up 20 years later by Eisenhower's old Panama friend Bradford Chynoweth when he replied to the President's equivalence of free land with security.

"True, Ike, the frontier closed *the very year you and I were born*. But free land was never security," he said. Pioneers had to "earn their free land! That wasn't security," Chyn exclaimed. "That was radical industry."

Personal and Confidential

General Chynoweth - 3.

I have to combat those who want every wage adjustment in the huge Federal services to be on a flat, across-the-board, basis. This worship of the mediocre pervades everything. It is a potent influence because it appeals to the most voters.

In my former letter, I think I must have misused the word "security" when I referred to the existence of free land in the 19th century. Of course that land did not necessarily mean security of body, but it did constitute a reserve of hope. I find myself in enthusiastic agreement with your rebellion against the reduction of every value, every incentive to the materialistic. If man is only an educated mule, we should eliminate him and turn the earth back to the birds and the fishes and the monkeys.

But the very fact that man is a spiritual thing makes it impossible for any durable governmental system to ignore hordes of people who through no fault of their own suddenly find themselves poverty stricken, and far from being able to maintain their families at decent levels, cannot even provide sustenance. Mass production has wrought great things in the world, but it has created social problems that cannot be possibly met under ideas that were probably logical and sufficient in 1800.

What I mean by the "Middle of the Road" is that course that preserves the greatest possible initiative, freedom and independence of soul and body to the individual, but that

Personal and Confidential

BRIG. GENERAL B. G. CHYNOWETH, RETIRED
822 SAN LUIS ROAD
BERKELEY 7, CALIFORNIA

July 25, 1954.

PERSONAL

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

JUL 27 3 06 PM '54

RECEIVED



Dear Ike :-

When you ask me to be specific, you are offering me the honor that Atlas offered Hercules. Hercules was shrewd enough to get out from under; but I am more like the rash poet (was it Francois Villon ?) - "King for a day". Next day he was banished forever from his beloved Paris.

Since I am already self-banished from dear old Washington, I submit my check list of action contemplated on my imaginary day in court :-

New Secretaries of State and Army. They have floundered too much for the Big League. Sympathetically, but as prompt as Casey Stengel would be-: "Back to the bushes".

Restore cabinet rank to Army, Navy, and Air Force. They are just as distinct in function as Commerce, Labor, Interior, and Agriculture. The Executive should be our defense department. The armed services have been kicked down-stairs, one flight, and correspondingly degraded.

Cut the Executive Branch (beginning with the Pentagon) at least in half. Excessive staff slows down operations in peace and in war.

Continue decentralizing industry. Begin decentralizing in the armed forces.

Strengthen good order and military discipline, by restoring the dignity of command, revitalizing Military, and deflating the over-pampered GI.

Remind the Attorney General that the Constitution purposely made Congress supervisory over the Executive. In war the President is dictator. Avoid it in peacetime.

Foreign Policy. Stop trying to be Good Uncle for uncooperative nations like India; and for the United Nations. Be ourselves. God made man a bit mischievous, and He detests hypocrisy. For about forty-years, we have been heavy, pompous, self-righteous, and hypocritical; and we are rapidly losing ground and prestige. The world doesn't

50%
wrong
count
75%
Hoped to get in 1948
wrong
not sign

Left: Eisenhower clarified his political beliefs in a July 20, 1954, letter to Bradford Chynoweth, stating that Americans now lacked that measure of "hope" formerly promised by the frontier, and that it was best to adopt a "Middle Way" that accepted a more protective role by the state. Right: Bradford Chynoweth responded to Eisenhower's request for specifics with a four-page letter of insights.

Channeling Hoover, Chyn continued, "The frontiers of life are *infinite*. . . . We will never reach and exploit the new frontiers if we throttle industry, and put a strait jacket on the pioneer types."

Ike admitted he might have misused the word "security" when he "referred to the existence of free land in the 19th century. Of course," he explained, "that land did not necessarily mean security of body, but it did constitute a reserve of *hope*."

Eisenhower said that no political system can "ignore hordes of people who through no fault of their own suddenly find themselves poverty stricken. . . . Mass production has wrought great things in the world, but it has created social problems that cannot be possibly met under ideas that were probably

logical and sufficient in 1800." As circumstances change, so must any government if it is to prove "durable," he said, neatly summarizing the argument for progressive reform.

Chynoweth agreed that mass production "has created social problems that need a new approach. But *why* jump to the *extreme* New Deal view that the only way to find new approaches is from the Government?" he asked.

Although it had taken five letters, the elephant in the room—Ike's predilection for New Deal social programs—was finally being named. The charge from the "radical [conservative] Republican" Chynoweth against the moderate, Middle Way Eisenhower was representative of the split that has divided the GOP for much of its history and continues in some fashion today.

Chyn's New Deal charges also expressed the disappointment the Republican conservatives felt with Eisenhower when they realized the first GOP president in 20 years would not repeal FDR's domestic achievements.

IKE EMBRACES NEW DEAL PROGRAMS, SEEKS TO CHART A "MIDDLE WAY"

The degree to which Eisenhower accepted New Deal programs and his reasons for doing so have occupied historians and biographers since the 1940s. The consensus is that Eisenhower embraced the reforms as a political necessity. The New Deal had won broad acceptance from the American public. Higher expectations of the state were a political reality.

As Ike said in a November 1954 letter to his conservative brother Edgar Eisenhower, who had also accused the President of selling out to the New Dealers:

Should any political party attempt to abolish social security, unemployment insurance, and eliminate labor laws and farm programs, you would not hear of that party again in our political history. There is a tiny splinter group, of course, that believes you can do these things. . . . [But] their number is negligible and they are stupid.

Other historians say the personally conservative President maintained the New Deal programs as a way to deflect more expansive social legislation by liberal Democrats. True, Ike's Middle Way philosophy rejected the paternalism (and deficit spending) he saw inherent in a larger welfare state. And his occasional strident warnings against "creeping socialism" feed the conservative-expediency narrative.

But what both the realist and expedient arguments lack is the frontier factor.

President Eisenhower believed in a "floor over the pit of personal disaster," as he described federal welfare programs, for the same fundamental reason President Roosevelt and other progressives did: the free land was gone.

Eisenhower probably first encountered the idea of the lost frontier's consequences for government in the thick Turnerian air of early New Deal Washington. There the mid-level staff officer served under Army Chief of Staff Gen. Douglas MacArthur during the eventful first 100 days of the Roosevelt administration.

Ike was a close observer of the Washington scene, recording his impressions of the events of the day in his diary as well as the personalities he witnessed up close. Three of those figures—Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of the Interior

Harold Ickes, and Gen. Hugh S. Johnson of the NRA—wrote books touting the New Deal as the solution to the frontier's loss. The men also invoked the frontier's closure frequently in articles and speeches. The attentive Eisenhower would have had difficulty avoiding the idea.

ON HIS 67TH BIRTHDAY, IKE ECHOES FDR'S LINES

And although Eisenhower does not invoke the lost frontier rationale of the New Deal directly in his diary, he is most admiring in his praise for the New Deal's grandest post-frontier scheme, the National Recovery Administration and its director, General Johnson.

"He seems to be a diamond in the rough," Ike confided to his journal in an early assessment of the man. "[Johnson is] indomitable in will, ruthless in action, and possessed of a remarkable insight into American economic processes, their difficulties and their needs."

Ike believed that "as in all other ideas of the President's that have been translated into actual national effort—the announced objective [of the N.R.A.] is a most desirable one."

Ike's respect for Johnson grew even greater over the next six months. He wrote in November 1933, "The N.R.A. . . . has apparently been making progress more in line with what was expected, than has any other [New Deal program]. . . . The program of establishing industrial codes has occasioned lots of argument, but a lot of this can be undoubtedly attributed to Johnson's proclivity for talking. He has a ready tongue and a facile imagination. . . . But the basic soundness of his methods (and I assume also of the principles of the N.R.A. effort) are demonstrated by the fact that in spite

The N. R. A. (Gen. Johnston's outfit) has apparently been making progress more in line with what was expected, than has any other. While he had to develop an organization he has had so much experience that he quickly utilized existing agencies to a considerable extent. The program of establishing industrial codes has occasioned lots of argument, but a lot of this can undoubtedly be attributed to Johnson's proclivity for talking. He has a ready tongue and a facile imagination. His expressions of

"small man", "dead cats", etc. etc. have excited comment and ridicule -- and this last is one of the greatest enemies to any effort depending upon public opinion. But the basic soundness of his methods (and I assume also of the principles of the N.R.A. effort) are demonstrated by the fact that in spite of all this ridicule the mass of our newspapers agree that the N.R.A. is really making headway.

The Agricultural Adjustment administration, on the other hand, has experienced the same difficulties as have the F.W.A., C.W.A. and so on. The papers are just now full of stories concerning an alleged fight going on between Mr. Peek, head of the A.A.A., on the one hand, and Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lugwell, Sec. & Asst. Sec. of Agriculture respectively, on the other. The mere fact that such a fight can begin and rage between two principal agents of the President, both responsible for important phases of his program for agricultural rehabilitation, is evidence of faulty organization. Only history can render a verdict as to the wisdom of Pres. Roosevelt's policies. But -- as definitely as has ever been done in this country -- the people gave the Pres. a mandate to revise our economic processes and to take charge of our nation in leading it out of the wilderness of depression. The only chance for success is to follow where the Pres. leads. No matter what other scheme may be theoretically more applicable to our difficulties, the fact remains that this is the only one that can be tried during the next three years. Therefore unified support must be given.

I do not deary the value of proper criticism in the newspapers and elsewhere. The advocates of money stabilization

[28]

Eisenhower recorded in a 1933 diary that the NRA, under Director Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, "has apparently been making progress more in line with what was expected, than has any other [New Deal program]."

of all this ridicule the mass of our newspapers agree that the N.R.A. is really making headway."

Relics of post-frontier New Deal ideas cropped up occasionally in Eisenhower's public pronouncements during his White House years to suggest that his days in New Deal Washington were just as formative to his



To learn more about

- How the Homestead Act helped settle America's frontier, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/winter/.
- How Eisenhower tied the nation together with highways, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/summer/.
- FDR's thinking behind the New Deal, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/winter/.

In 1890 we were still moving into the Western frontier. Sitting Bull, the Indian Chief, was killed in that year and a vast tract of his people's land was thrown open to American settlers. Today there is no more free land like this to be had. Instead we are trying to learn how to adapt ourselves to the requirements of a crowded, competitive, industrialized, pulsating society. No longer do we live as adventuresome settlers, but as responsible citizens of a maturing nation.

On his 67th birthday, President Eisenhower again observed that the frontier was gone, that "we are trying to learn how to adapt ourselves to the requirements of a crowded, competitive, industrialized, pulsating society."

intellectual development as his time in General Conner's "graduate school" in Panama.

But Ike's frontier musings escaped the notice of the press then, and contemporary historians now, even as the parallels with New Deal thought stand in bold relief. His 67th-birthday remarks, for example, celebrated in the very city where FDR made his signature campaign speech 25 years earlier, could have been clipped from Roosevelt's script.

"In 1890 we were still moving in the Western frontier. Sitting Bull, the Indian Chief, was killed in that year—and a vast tract of his people's land was thrown open to American settlers," Ike said. "Today there is no more free land like this to be had. Instead we are trying to learn how to adapt ourselves to the requirements of a crowded, competitive, industrialized, pulsating society. No longer do we live as adventuresome settlers, but as responsible citizens of a maturing nation. Our tasks include the conserving of our resources, planning for the fullest use of our great strength, channeling our pioneer

spirit into the endless task of making this Nation . . . a better place."

Ike's continuation and modest expansion of the New Deal was about more than accepting political reality or exercising political expediency. He shared a progressive interpretation of the American past with President Franklin Roosevelt and other prominent New Deal officials that led him to include federal welfare programs as part

of his administration's Middle Way. This is the significance of the frontier in Eisenhower history. **P**



Author

Timothy Rives is the deputy director and supervisory archivist of the Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum, and Boyhood Home in

Abilene, Kansas.

NOTE ON SOURCES

The National Recovery Administration's short life ended in 1935 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that its industrial code-making authority was unconstitutional. Although Eisenhower was critical of the centralizing tendencies of the New Deal and of "New Dealer" political types, he admitted that some of his programs were "New Dealish." The Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways continued and expanded President Franklin D. Roosevelt's tradition of state-sponsored economic development. The interstate highway system, in fact, surpassed in size and scope all New Deal public works projects combined. See Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

The Eisenhower-Chynoweth correspondence is located in the Names Series of the Ann Whitman File, Dwight D. Eisenhower Papers as President Collection at the Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas. Eisenhower's thoughts on the early New Deal are recorded in *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905–1941*, ed. Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

"The Significance of the Frontier in American History" is widely available. Turner's collected essays are found in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1920 and 1962).

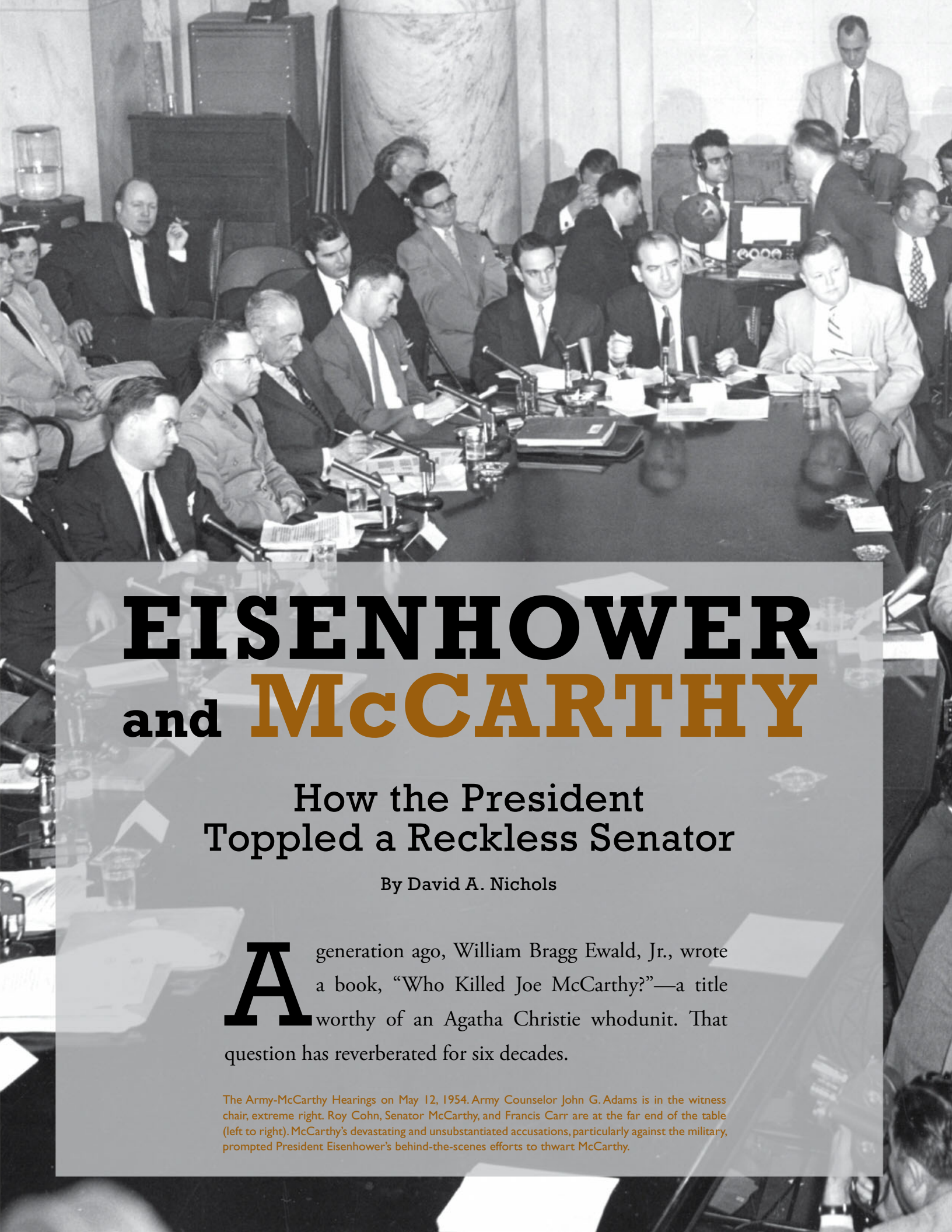
Although I did not quote from them directly, two books were important in framing this article: Theodore Rosenof's *Dogma, Depression, and the New Deal* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975) explains how the idea of the frontier's closure undergirded New Deal economic ideas. David Wrobel's *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993) is indispensable for

understanding the significance of the frontier's loss in the American mind. Steven Kesselman's article "The Frontier Thesis and the Great Depression" (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1968, pp. 253–268) is just as important as the Rosenof and Wrobel works.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Commonwealth Club speech is included in his book *Looking Forward* (New York: John Day Company, 1933). Other New Deal frontier books include Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, *The New Democracy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1934); National Recovery Administration Director Hugh S. Johnson, *The Blue Eagle: From Egg to Earth* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1935); Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, *New Frontiers* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1934). Coincidentally, Milton Eisenhower, Ike's youngest brother, served as the Agriculture Department's chief spokesman under Wallace during Ike's New Deal days in Washington. The *New York Times* notice of the Wallace book was included in the paper's note of former President Herbert Hoover's frontier/New Deal rebuttal *The Challenge to Liberty* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934). ("Mr. Hoover's book is the one on the right," the *Times* quipped.)

The lost frontier theme is also prominent in New Deal publicist Stuart Chase's *A New Deal* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932). Ray Allen Billington's *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) is the biography of the man and his seminal idea.

My thanks to Robert Clark, Acting Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, and his staff for the copies of FDR's Commonwealth Club address drafts. Additional thanks to David Nichols, Irwin Gellman, Bill Kauffman, and Bob Rives for this finding this story not terrible.



EISENHOWER and **Mc**CARTHY

How the President Toppled a Reckless Senator

By David A. Nichols

A generation ago, William Bragg Ewald, Jr., wrote a book, “Who Killed Joe McCarthy?”—a title worthy of an Agatha Christie whodunit. That question has reverberated for six decades.

The Army-McCarthy Hearings on May 12, 1954. Army Counselor John G. Adams is in the witness chair, extreme right. Roy Cohn, Senator McCarthy, and Francis Carr are at the far end of the table (left to right). McCarthy's devastating and unsubstantiated accusations, particularly against the military, prompted President Eisenhower's behind-the-scenes efforts to thwart McCarthy.



Beginning in 1950, Wisconsin's junior U.S. senator, Joseph R. McCarthy, threw the nation's capital into turmoil with his reckless, unsubstantiated charges. In a campaign to rid America of an alleged communist conspiracy, the senator charged respected citizens, especially government employees, with being Soviet agents. McCarthy's lack of respect for the truth, his insatiable appetite for headlines, and his willingness to damage reputations turned "McCarthyism" into an enduring epitaph in our political language.

Yet, by mid-1954, McCarthy's political influence had been essentially destroyed. How did that happen?

The answer is Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"Ike is Don Corleone, the godfather," says Daun van Ee, an editor of the Eisenhower published papers. "He knows how to take somebody out without leaving any fingerprints."

The standard explanations for McCarthy's political demise are well known. Joe, an alcoholic, supposedly did himself in. He was damaged by Edward R. Murrow's legendary *See It Now* television program. His reputation was tarnished by the Army-McCarthy hearings, by the unsympathetic glare of the television cameras, and by his confrontation with the wily Joseph Welch (the attorney the White House recruited to represent the Army).

In the traditional story, the final nail in McCarthy's political coffin was the censure vote by the United States Senate on December 2, 1954.

An "Eyes Only" File Sheds Light On Eisenhower and McCarthy

In recent years, pro-McCarthy authors have attempted to repair the senator's reputation by arguing his political enemies destroyed him in order to cover up Soviet espionage in the United States government. However, Eisenhower cannot be justifiably



Above: McCarthy seized on anticommunism as an issue, recklessly charging respected citizens, especially government employees, with being Soviet agents. Below: Fred A. Seaton, assistant secretary of defense, collected and preserved thousands of pages of letters, telephone transcripts, memoranda, and other materials documenting the administration's conflict with McCarthy and the President's steps to weaken the senator.



charged with such negligence. Eisenhower took the possibility of subversion seriously, but firmly believed his methods would be effective whereas McCarthy's demagogic tactics would fail.

William Ewald was the first to tap an immense cache of documents reflecting the conflict with McCarthy that Fred Seaton, assistant secretary of defense, collected on President Eisenhower's orders during the Army-McCarthy hearings. Seaton impounded thousands of pages of letters, telephone transcripts, memoranda, and documents. He locked them up, took them with him when he became secretary of the interior, and—when he left the government—hailed them home to Nebraska.

Ewald, who later worked for Seaton at the Interior Department, recalled the secretary pointing to a locked file and saying: "I'll never open that until you-know-who tells me to." When Seaton died, his "Eyes Only" file was donated to the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas.

Those papers, along with other declassified documents, paint a tale of strategic deception, a realm in which Dwight Eisenhower was expert. In 1944, with the help of allies, the general had successfully hoodwinked the German leadership about when and where the largest military expeditionary force in human history would land in Europe. "Operation Fortitude" involved fake armies, dummy landing craft and airfields, fraudulent radio transmissions, and misleading leaks through diplomatic channels and double agents.

Eisenhower understood that carefully planned, rigorously implemented deception can confuse an enemy until he makes a mistake; then he can be ambushed. That, politically, is what Eisenhower did to Joe McCarthy. Only a half dozen trusted aides knew what was happening. Others—including most of the era's great reporters—missed the real story.

Ike Helps Create Myth of Himself As Disengaged and Grandfatherly

Much of the residual difficulty lies in the enduring myth about Eisenhower's leadership—that he was a disengaged, grandfatherly President more interested in playing golf than in the effective exercise of leadership. That legend—discredited by a growing body of research the past three decades—was perpetuated initially by politically biased historians who never forgave the general for denying the presidency to Adlai Stevenson in 1952.

In part, Eisenhower was the author of his own myth. He was obsessive about protecting the Oval Office from controversy. In particular, critics grumble that Eisenhower was cowardly in his response to McCarthy, refusing to "speak out" about the red-baiting senator's excesses.

In 1954, columnist Joseph Alsop, after listening to Eisenhower's restrained news conference statement targeting McCarthy's methods (without mentioning his name), sneered to a colleague, "Why, the yellow son of a bitch!"

Contributing to this theory was Eisenhower's response during the 1952 campaign to McCarthy's attack on Gen. George C. Marshall, Army chief of staff during World War II. Marshall, more than anyone, was responsible for Eisenhower's swift ascent in the Army, leaping over dozens of generals to become supreme allied commander in Europe, the architect of D-day, and the hero of the drive to defeat the Nazis.

In the 1952 presidential campaign, Eisenhower had included in a speech prepared for delivery in Wisconsin a paragraph defending Marshall, hoping to deliver it with McCarthy on stage. However, Eisenhower, an inexperienced politician, was pressured that afternoon by Wisconsin Republican leaders (not McCarthy) to delete the 74 words of praise because they feared losing Wisconsin's electoral votes.

Unfortunately, campaign press aide Fred Seaton had already hinted to *New York Times* reporter William Lawrence that there would be praise for Marshall in the speech. Joe McCarthy misled Lawrence about how the deletion took place. The press made much of the candidate's decision to omit his defense of Marshall. However, in an August 22 news conference, Eisenhower had already defended Marshall as "a perfect example of patriotism."

Ike "Ignores" McCarthy; "This he cannot stand"

There is a shred of truth in the allegation. Eisenhower did not believe presidential rhetoric would take down McCarthy, and he was right about that.

Recent research shows that presidential oratory rarely results in historic change; that happens when Presidents exploit a crisis to exercise transformative leadership. Consider Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War or Franklin Roosevelt and the Great Depression. However, modern pundits persist in rating Presidents by their use of the "bully pulpit."

Eisenhower understood demagogues like McCarthy. In April 1953, he wrote in his diary: "Nothing will be so effective in combating his particular kind of trouble-making as to ignore him. This he cannot stand."

Eisenhower refused to use the senator's name in public. His repudiation of pleas to denounce McCarthy perplexed friends and supporters. Ike's persistent response was that "getting in the gutter" with the senator would only elevate McCarthy's status.

Years later, Robert Donovan, a supportive journalist, clung to the belief that Eisenhower could have destroyed McCarthy if he had delivered "one great speech on the immorality and illegality of McCarthyism." Eisenhower knew better; such rhetoric would only play to the senator's strengths.

GOP Takes Congress as Ike Wins; McCarthy Gets a New Weapon

Ironically, in 1953, due to Eisenhower's election, McCarthy acquired a new platform for his crusade. The Republican one-vote majority in the Senate resulted in McCarthy's appointment as chair of the Government Operations Committee and its permanent investigative subcommittee. In the latter capacity, the senator subpoenaed witnesses, conducted one-senator hearings, accused witnesses of guilt-by-association, and labeled as "obviously communist" anyone who dared to invoke constitutional protections against self-incrimination.

In 1953, Eisenhower had priorities that took precedence over dealing with Joe McCarthy. The nation was still at war in Korea, and recovering from the traumas of depression and World War II.

The Cold War with the Soviet Union sustained a climate of fear that was the lifeblood of McCarthyism, including the fear of subversion. Given Eisenhower's priorities, revolving around his commitment to "waging peace" (a favorite phrase), virtually everything McCarthy said or did was diametrically opposed to the agenda of his party's new President.

Eisenhower's achievements abroad during 1953–1954 were historic. He ended the Korean War, prosecuted the Cold War on multiple fronts, offered "a chance for peace" to the new Soviet leadership after Josef Stalin died, crafted a "new look" defense policy rooted in nuclear deterrence, and delivered a historic "Atoms for Peace" proposal at the United Nations.

In 1954, when the French were routed at Dien Bien Phu, Eisenhower rejected French pleas to intervene, risking the possibility that McCarthy might accuse him of "losing Indochina."

At home, the President skillfully managed his narrow majorities in the Congress. Eisenhower pioneered advances in civil

rights—desegregating the District of Columbia, completing desegregation of the military, and appointing Earl Warren to the Supreme Court.

In 1953, he put together a sweeping legislative program that preserved and enhanced New Deal programs and submitted it to Congress in January 1954. He also made controversial decisions to permit the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for spying and to accept the Atomic Energy Commission's denial of security clearance to scientist Robert Oppenheimer, the "father of the atom bomb."

McCarthy Uses Committee To Investigate "Ike's Army"

Eisenhower refused to permit McCarthy to distract him from these priorities.

Still, he was not as passive in 1953 as historians have assumed. Like the military commander he was, Ike acted strategically. He instituted an internal security program designed to both steal McCarthy's thunder and root out genuine security risks.

He crushed McCarthy's attempt to derail Charles Bohlen's nomination as ambassador to the Soviet Union, denounced McCarthy-inspired book burnings in America's overseas libraries, and effectively countered McCarthy when the senator called for a blockade of allied ships delivering goods to China.

Complaints that Eisenhower took too long to act against McCarthy are misguided. Eisenhower was a master of timing, as the D-day invasion demonstrated. If the President had tried to destroy McCarthy in 1953, he probably would have failed. One must select the right time, as well as the most effective method, to take on an enemy.

Former President Harry S. Truman openly denounced McCarthy for three years, but his rhetorical attacks only enhanced the senator's prestige; Ike ruined him in less than half that time.



After Pvt. G. David Schine was denied a special commission and military privileges, McCarthy's chief counsel Roy Cohn pressured the senator to investigate the Army.

Then, on August 31, 1953, McCarthy launched hearings into communist infiltration into the United States Army—*Ike's Army*. While Eisenhower did not respond in public, it was only a matter of time. Joe McCarthy had signed his own political death warrant by assaulting the service to which the general had devoted his adult life.

The Turning Point in 1954: A Scandal Involving McCarthy

By January 1954, Joe McCarthy's prestige was at its zenith; 50 percent of Gallup Poll respondents approved of the senator, with 29 percent unfavorable. Eisenhower had concluded that McCarthy was more than a nuisance; he was a threat to the country's stability, to the President's foreign policy goals, to his legislative program, and to his party's and his own electoral prospects.

In January 1954, Eisenhower did something breathtaking and dangerous; *he launched a clandestine operation designed to wrap a scandal around the neck of a prestigious United States senator in the President's own party*



Seated at a McCarthy hearing into communists in the Army, left to right, are Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens, Gen. Robert Young, Roy Cohn, and McCarthy. Stevens secretly attempted to secure a pledge that officers would not be further abused.



To learn more about

- Eisenhower, McCarthy, and the “Red Menace,” go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/fall/.
- The fear of conspiracies in the McCarthy era, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/spring/.
- Eisenhower’s plan for aerial reconnaissance during the Cold War, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2009/winter/.



Above: President Eisenhower meets with Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. (left), and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Brownell was a key figure in the President's plan to discredit McCarthy. Below: Gen. Ralph Zwicker, commander of Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, was attacked by Senator McCarthy as "not fit to wear the uniform" of the United States Army.



in an election year. The controversy involved McCarthy's chief counsel, Roy Cohn, and his frantic attempts to keep Pvt. G. David Schine with him on the subcommittee. Schine had been an unpaid consultant to the subcommittee until he was drafted into the Army. These men were, in the words of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, "inseparable."

Cohn's rage over his inability to obtain a special commission for Schine apparently pushed McCarthy into investigating the Army. The attorney's efforts to secure special privileges for Schine, often involving the senator, was what the Army-McCarthy hearings in mid-1954 were ostensibly about.

Eisenhower carried off his anti-McCarthy operation by means of rigorous delegation to a handful of trusted subordinates; these included Chief of Staff Sherman Adams; Vice President Richard Nixon; Press Secretary James Hagerty; Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and his deputy, William Rogers; Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the administration's representative to the United Nations; and Assistant Secretary of Defense Fred A. Seaton, who collaborated with H. Struve Hensel, the Pentagon's general counsel. While less intimate with the President, Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens and Army counsel John G. Adams played critical roles. These men were expected, like foot soldiers in war, to put their lives and reputations on the line to protect the President and extinguish the political influence of Joe McCarthy.

Strong Response to Cohn's Threat to "Wreck the Army"

On January 21, 1954, at a meeting in Attorney General Brownell's office, Eisenhower's chief advisers learned the shocking details about Roy Cohn's threats to "wreck the Army" to keep Private Schine with him and McCarthy's subcommittee.

Eisenhower, although not in attendance, now had potent ammunition to use against McCarthy. Sherman Adams ordered John

Chronology of Efforts Made by Senator McCarthy and Staff Members of the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee to Put Pressure on the Army with a View to Securing Special Treatment for a Former Consultant to the Committee, G. David Schine

VI

Further Vituperations by Cohn against the Army on 17 December 1953 in New York

On the morning of 17 December, when I entered the United States Court House at about 10:30 A.M. I met Senator McCarthy, also entering the building. He advised me that, on the previous evening, he had attempted to telephone to tell me that he had learned of the extent of his staff's interference with the Commanding General at Fort Dix with reference to Schine, and that he wished to instruct me thereafter to discontinue anything which was being done in the Committee's behalf reference Schine. And he wished to tell me that he was advising the staff that they must thereafter do nothing with reference to Schine.

The hearing on 17 December lasted only about two hours, and, at the conclusion of it, a group of us went to Gasners Restaurant for lunch. In the party were Senator McCarthy, Patricia Kennedy, a sister of the Senator from Massachusetts, a movie actor named Peter Lawford, Carr, Cohn and I. After we had had lunch and were engaged in general conversation I suggested that we discuss the Schine situation. I did so because I felt that it was necessary to get from McCarthy in front of Carr and Cohn a clear statement that it was his desire that the staff discontinue pressuring the Army on the matter.

This caused the discussion to get rather heated and Cohn restated all of the arguments which he had stated so many times before, particularly with reference to the so-called "original commitment" that Schine would get New York City duty immediately on the conclusion of his basic training. Instead of holding his position against Cohn as McCarthy had assured me he would, he began to withdraw. About this time Lawford and Miss Kennedy left, and McCarthy, Carr, Cohn and I stayed at the table. We remained there for about two hours, and the argument became more violent as the time passed. Cohn was particularly abusive both to me, to the Army, to Secretary Stevens, and to McCarthy. The more he abused Senator McCarthy the more McCarthy receded from the position he had taken to me at 10:30 A.M.

It was necessary for me to leave because I desired to catch a train for Washington that afternoon, and we rode up town in Cohn's car, Cohn stating that he would take me to the station. Cohn was driving, McCarthy was in the front seat and Carr and I were in the rear. The violence of Cohn's abuse to me and McCarthy continued as we rode up town and McCarthy began suggesting to me that certainly the Secretary of the Army ought to be able to find a way to assign Schine in New York at once. He made this proposal 3 or 4 times in the last mile or so of the ride as Cohn continued to rain abuse on his head and mine.

- I. Request for Direct Commission
- II. McCarthy Requests Schine be Drafted (mid-October 1953)
- III. Schine Inducted as a Private
- IV. Secretary Stevens' Luncheon for McCarthy and His Staff at the Pentagon, 6 November 1953.
- V. Adams Talks Privately to McCarthy About Schine--Events of 8 - 10 December.
- Va. Extract of Adams Memo to Stevens 10 December 1953
- VI. Further Vituperations by Cohn Against the Army, 17 December 1953, in New York.
- Via. McCarthy Letter to Secretary of the Army re Schine, 22 December 1953
- VII. December-January Discussions Concerning Schine's Assignment to Camp Gordon, Georgia.
- VIIa. Adams Memo to Secretary of the Army re Schine, 29 December 1953.
- VIII. Request to Relieve Schine from KP Duty on 10 January 1954.
- IX. Fort Dix Chronology of Activities of Private Schine from 10 November 1953 to 16 January 1954.
- X. Adams Confers with Senator In His Apartment on 22 January 1954.

Completed 2 Feb 54
J. Adams

Above: Army Counsel John Adams provided documents to the White House, including those above, outlining the privileges sought for David Schine. They were edited into a report released on March 11, 1954, that created negative press for McCarthy. Below: Joseph Welch, the Army's attorney, cleverly exposed McCarthy's duplicity on national television, asking "Have you left no sense of decency?" Right: The marked-up resolution censuring Joseph McCarthy for various instances of conduct "unbecoming a Member of the United States Senate." It passed on December 2, 1954, by a 67 to 22 vote.



Eisenhower and McCarthy

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CALENDAR NO. 2540

S. RES. 301

[Report No. 2508]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 30 (legislative day, JULY 2), 1954

MR. FLANDERS submitted the following resolution; which was ordered to be printed NOV 9 1954

Reported by Mr. Watkins, from the select committee created pursuant to order of the Senate of August 2, 1954, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

RESOLUTION

1. *Resolved*, That the conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, is unbecoming a Member of the United States Senate, is contrary to senatorial traditions, and tends to bring the Senate into disrepute, and such conduct is hereby condemned.

2. Mr. McCarthy, in connection with the conduct of his duties as a witness representing General Ralph W. Zwicker, in refusing to criticize official orders and to destroy the good faith executive and legislative and the Senate disavows the

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G. Adams, the Army counsel, to write up a report summarizing Cohn's harassment of the Army. Lodge later called this meeting Eisenhower's "first move" against McCarthy.

McCarthy further antagonized Eisenhower when, in a February 18 hearing, the senator charged that Gen. Ralph Zwicker, a hero in the war in Europe and then commandant at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, was "not fit to wear the uniform" of the United States Army.

On February 24, unknown to Eisenhower, Army Secretary Stevens attempted to secure a pledge from McCarthy that Army officers would not be further abused. Stevens met secretly with McCarthy and the other Republican senators on the subcommittee at the so-called "chicken lunch"; the senators talked Stevens into signing an agreement that the newspapers immediately branded a "surrender" to McCarthy.

That day, Eisenhower returned home from golfing in California. He was dismayed to learn that commentators mistakenly assumed the President had ordered Stevens to capitulate. The next day, a furious Eisenhower convened key staff members, including Stevens, at the White House and personally oversaw the writing of a statement repudiating the "surrender" document.

From that moment on, preparations intensified in the Pentagon for the release of the "Schine report." Assistant Secretary Seaton, with the assistance of Defense Department general counsel Hensel, was editing the document for publication.

On February 23, Lodge wrote Eisenhower about Maj. Irving Peress, a Camp Kilmer dentist McCarthy had accused of being a communist. Lodge suggested their anti-McCarthy operation might gain momentum with help from "a friendly senator" and "a little luck." On March 9, 1954, the administration got both. Sherman Adams's good friend, Vermont's Republican Senator Ralph W. Flanders, ridiculed McCarthy in a speech on the Senate floor. Flanders words dripped with sarcasm: "He dons his war paint. He goes into his war dance. He emits his war whoops. He

goes forth to battle and proudly returns with the scalp of a pink Army dentist."

That night, Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* television program quoted Flanders as part of an eloquent condemnation of the senator.

Report on Schine Released; Senate Censures McCarthy

Those events set the stage for March 11, 1954.

That day, on Eisenhower's secret orders, Seaton released a 34-page, carefully edited account of the privileges sought for David Schine to key senators, representatives, and the press. The document ignited such a firestorm of negative publicity that, on March 16, the McCarthy subcommittee agreed to hold televised hearings. McCarthy would temporarily step down as chair, to be replaced by South Dakota Senator Karl Mundt.

The hearings began April 22 and continued until June 17. McCarthy's reputation had already been damaged prior to the hearings; the senator's abusive demeanor on television repulsed viewers, and the Army's attorney, Joe Welch, cleverly exposed McCarthy's duplicity. On June 9, Welch climaxed his baiting of McCarthy, exclaiming: "Have you left no sense of decency?"

Once the hearings ended, there was a movement for censure that reached fruition on December 2, 1954, by a vote of 67 to 22; all of the negative votes were cast by Republicans.

There can no longer be any doubt that Dwight Eisenhower and his trusted subordinates engineered this devastating assault on McCarthy. Following condemnation by his colleagues, McCarthy was still around, but his influence was a shell of what it had been.

In a June 1955 meeting of Republican congressional leaders, Eisenhower repeated a saying that was making the rounds in Washington; "It's no longer McCarthyism," the President said. "It's McCarthyism."

On May 2, 1957, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy died; he was 48 years of age. P

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NOTE ON SOURCES

This article is extracted, with permission from Simon and Schuster, from the full-length volume to be published in 2016, and it is not possible to cite all of the key sources here. The massive Fred A. Seaton "Eyes Only" collection at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library is critical, and the other resources at that library have been thoroughly investigated. The Eisenhower published papers (Louis Galambos and Daun van Ee, eds., *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, [1984–2001]) are drawn from materials at the Eisenhower Library and always an important source. So too are the memoirs and oral histories from the period, especially Sherman Adams, *First-Hand Report: The Inside Story of the Eisenhower Administration* (London: Hutchinson, 1961) and John G. Adams, *Without Precedent: The Story of the Death of McCarthyism* (New York: Norton, 1983). William Ewald's book, *Who Killed Joe McCarthy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984) is thoroughly researched but also based on his personal experiences as a White House staff member and collaborator on the former President's memoirs. There are numerous studies of the McCarthy side of the story, but the two most frequently cited are Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Stein & Day, 1982) and David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983, 2005).



Author

David A. Nichols is former vice president for academic affairs and dean of faculty at Southwestern College in Kansas. This article is a preview of his forthcoming book on Eisenhower and Joseph McCarthy, to be published by Simon & Schuster in 2016. Nichols holds a doctorate from the College of William and Mary. He is the author of *A Matter of Justice: Eisenhower and the Beginning of the Civil Rights Revolution* and *Eisenhower 1956: The President's Year of Crisis—Suez and the Brink of War* (Simon & Schuster, 2007, 2011). Nichols is also the author of *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics* (first published in 1978 by the University of Missouri Press and republished by the Minnesota Historical Society in 2012).

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MR. PRESIDENT

HOW JUDGMENTS *of* EISENHOWER
In the WHITE HOUSE HAVE CHANGED

By IRWIN F. GELLMAN



The following excerpts are from The President and the Apprentice: Eisenhower and Nixon, 1952–1961, by Irwin F. Gellman, published this summer by Yale University Press.

Ever since the 1952 presidential election, authors who opposed Dwight Eisenhower on philosophical and political grounds have dominated the discussion of his White House years. At the same time, a number of misconceptions about those years have gone unexamined. For too long, the fable that Eisenhower spent more time playing golf than governing was accepted as fact. It was said that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, for example, shaped American diplomacy and White House chief of staff Sherman Adams took on such an outsized management role that he earned the title assistant president. In reality, Eisenhower formulated foreign policy in the Eisenhower administration; Secretary Dulles dutifully carried out Ike's directives. Eisenhower was a skillful, hands-on President (he had, after all, overseen the invasions of North Africa, Italy, and France during World War II) who set his own agenda. Adams managed the President's schedule and protected him from unwarranted intrusions, but did not act for him or enforce his decisions.

Opposite: President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. The secretary provided valuable advice on foreign affairs, but the President formulated foreign policy. Below: Dwight Eisenhower served as president of Columbia University in the late 1940s amid complaints that he governed only part-time due to failing health and extensive travel.



Historical consensus has been especially unkind to Richard Nixon, who is thought to have played a minimal role as Vice President, in an administration that accomplished so little that there was not much for a Vice President to do. Besides, the President neither depended on nor liked Nixon. The reality is that the President and his apprentice respected and trusted each other. Nixon was deeply involved in many far-reaching initiatives and emerged as one of the most important presidential advisers.

The negative portrayals of Eisenhower began before he became President and changed slowly after his death. After World War II, both major political parties tried to draft him as their presidential nominee. He refused and in 1948 accepted the presidency of Columbia University. Many faculty members, especially those in the social sciences and the humanities, considered a military man unsuitable to lead the university, and throughout his tenure the complaints, ranging from petty to serious, grew more vocal and intense. Historian Travis Jacobs, in his book *Eisenhower at Columbia*, wrote: “Some faculty members criticized Eisenhower because he did not seem interested in the academic needs of the university, but their major complaint was that he never was a full-time President due to his failing health and extensive travel schedule.” Neither posed any threat to his tenure.



During the 1952 presidential campaign, the faculty and staff split into warring camps: those who supported the Democratic candidate, Adlai Stevenson, and others who backed Eisenhower. According to reports in the *New York Times*, some grew so hostile that they refused to talk to colleagues on the other side. After Ike’s convincing triumph, some Stevenson loyalists refused to accept defeat and used undergraduate lectures, graduate seminars, and writings to trivialize the winner.



Recent studies of the Eisenhower presidency have reversed the general image that the President spent more time playing golf than governing.

They remained unconvinced after Eisenhower defeated Stevenson again in 1956. Columbia historian Richard Hofstadter, in *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, described Ike as having a “conventional” mind and “fumbling inarticulateness.” William Leuchtenburg’s 1993 book *In the Shadow of FDR* (written after he had decamped from Columbia for North Carolina) provided a negative assessment of Eisenhower’s presidency, stating that he left the Oval Office with “an accumulation of unsolved social problems that would overwhelm his successors in the 1960s.”

Up at Harvard, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who worked on Stevenson’s staff during the 1952 and ’56 campaigns and would later be a special assistant to President John Kennedy, charged that Eisenhower had accepted McCarthyism “with evident contentment.” Throughout his career, Schlesinger regularly belittled Eisenhower. As late as 1983 he described the former President as “a genial, indolent man of pied syntax and platitudinous conviction, fleeing from public policy to bridge, golf and westerns.”

In his prestigious *Oxford History of the American People*, published in 1965, Samuel Eliot Morison used his chapter on the Eisenhower years to highlight the President’s failures: “Peace and order were not restored abroad; violence and faction were not

quenched at home.” The former President received a copy of the book and scribbled on the dedication page: “the author is not a good historian. . . . in those events with which I am personally familiar he is grossly inaccurate.”

Morison co-wrote with Leuchtenburg and Henry Steele Commager (also a Columbia professor until 1956) a widely assigned college textbook, *The Growth of the American Republic*, in which the authors downgraded the Eisenhower presidency with a backhanded compliment: “Eisenhower had made an important contribution toward unifying the nation, but not a few asked whether the price that had been paid was too high.”

The academic criticism was not limited to Cambridge and New York. Before Ike’s first term was finished, Norman Graebner, a diplomatic historian at the University of Virginia, argued that the President was returning the United States to a “New Isolationism.” Several months before Ike left office, Graebner concluded that the President’s advocates had “measured his success by popularity, not achievements.” Two years later, in the preface to an edited volume of chapters by well-known authors, historian Dean Albertson wrote that “informed reaction to the Eisenhower administration was unfavorable.”



Many journalists criticized Eisenhower for his lack of leadership. Marquis Childs, a syndicated columnist, enumerated his subject's weaknesses in his 1958 book *Eisenhower: Captive Hero*. *New York Times* reporter James Reston found in Ike a symbol of the times: "Optimistic, prosperous, escapist, pragmatic, friendly, attentive in moments of crisis and comparatively inattentive the rest of the time." Columnist Richard Rovere summarized Ike's lackluster achievements: "The good that Eisenhower did—largely by doing so little—was accomplished . . . in his first term."

Political scientists painted their own unflattering portraits. James Barber, who analyzed presidential performance according to a four-part matrix—active/positive, active/negative, passive/positive, and passive/negative—put Ike in the last box and asserted that he left "vacant the energizing, initiating, stimulating possibilities" of his office. A counselor to John Kennedy during his congressional years, Harvard professor Richard Neustadt, used 160 pages of his 1960 book on presidential power to enumerate how poorly Eisenhower had governed.

In the 1960s, Eisenhower responded to his detractors with two volumes of memoirs, *The White House Years*, in which he defended his record on such controversial subjects as Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy and his refusal to aid Britain and France during the 1956 Suez invasion. Those recollections and later books by close associates—such as Sherman Adams's *Firsthand Report* and Ezra Taft Benson's *Cross Fire*—emphasized the administration's achievements. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., years later, commented in his memoirs: "There was never any doubt in the Eisenhower administration about who was in charge and who made the decisions. The President did."

Such testimonials did little to overcome the consensus on Ike's mediocrity. The fiction that Eisenhower had governed incompetently, and that he had failed to use the

bully pulpit effectively, continued to be accepted without careful analysis. This impression still lingers.



Cracks in the concrete began to appear when the well-respected journalist Murray Kempton wrote in the late 1960s that pundits had underestimated Eisenhower's acumen. After the Dwight Eisenhower Presidential Library opened in the spring of 1962 and the National Archives started to release thousands upon thousands of administration documents, Herbert Parmet became one of the first historians to exam-



Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who worked on the Adlai Stevenson campaigns, was one of the harshest critics of Eisenhower, describing him as "a genial, indolent man . . . fleeing from public policy to bridge, golf and westerns."

ine them and was surprised by what he uncovered. His *Eisenhower and the American Crusades*, published in 1972, represented the first time a serious scholar suggested that Eisenhower had accomplished far more than previous writers had allowed.

Others followed. In the early 1980s, political scientist Fred Greenstein examined the recently opened files of Ann Whitman, the President's private secretary, and determined that Ike had employed a "hidden hand" to manage the federal bureaucracy. In *The Hidden-Hand Presidency and Presidential Difference*, Greenstein elaborated on this

theme: the President, he wrote, "was once assumed to have been a well-intentioned political innocent, but he emerges from the historical record as a self-consciously oblique political sophisticate with a highly distinctive leadership style." Though this interpretation gained popularity, the book outraged Arthur Schlesinger, who wrote in his journal on February 12, 1981, that Greenstein was "a nice fellow—but his thesis these days—Eisenhower the Activist President—is a lot of bullshit."

Despite Schlesinger's objections, documentation of the efficacy of Eisenhower's management inaugurated a trend toward a more positive view of his presidency. In Stephen Ambrose's 1984 book *Eisenhower: The President*, Ike emerges as a brilliant leader. Ambrose later called him "the American of the twentieth century. Of all the men I've studied and written about he is the brightest and the best."

Unfortunately, this assessment is tainted by scandal. While some Eisenhower scholars questioned Ambrose's research after the book's publication, the enormity of his falsifications was not revealed until after his death. Ambrose lied about his relationship to Eisenhower. He claimed that Ike was so impressed with his book on Civil War General Henry Halleck that he called Ambrose out of the blue and asked him to write his biography. Two Ambrose letters contradict this account. On September 10, 1964, the historian wrote to Ike that he was thrilled to be appointed associate editor of the Eisenhower papers and thought "it only fair that you have an opportunity to see some of my writing." One sample was the Halleck book. On October 15, Ambrose informed the former President that he was editing World War II documents and wanted "to begin a full-scale, scholarly account of your military career." He was not considering "a complete biography, as I know little about politics and have even less interest in them."





Historians have been divided on President Eisenhower's leadership on civil rights. He met with civil rights leaders on June 23, 1958. Left to Right: Lester Granger, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., E. Frederic Morrow, the President, A. Philip Randolph, William Rogers, Rocco Siciliano, and Roy Wilkins.

Ambrose also claimed that he had talked with Ike alone for “hundreds and hundreds of hours” over five years; his footnotes record nine separate interviews. But Ike’s daily logs show that the historian met with the former President only three times, for a total of less than five hours. They never met privately; one of Eisenhower’s aides was always present.

The most damaging charge to result from these phantom sessions concerns the issue Ambrose singled out as the major failure of Eisenhower’s presidency: civil rights. He quotes Ike as saying he regretted “the appointment of that dumb son of a bitch Earl Warren.” He also writes that Eisenhower “personally wished that the Court had upheld *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and said so on a number of occasions (but only in private).” For the remark on the chief justice, Ambrose cited an undated interview with the former President; for the opinion on *Plessy*, he did not provide a

source. No one has supplied any documentation that confirms either statement. Ambrose declared, also without any documentation, that “Eisenhower had no Negro friends, not even more than one or two acquaintances. . . . He was uncomfortable with . . . Negroes, so much so that he did not want to hear their side.” These assertions, which have no foundation in fact, lead to the expected conclusion: Ike “ignored the Negro community.” . . .

Ambrose’s fabrications received widespread coverage, but little changed. *Eisenhower: The President* has not been pulled from library shelves, and its publisher, Simon and Schuster, still sells it in print and as an eBook, touting it as an outstanding reference work with “numerous interviews with Eisenhower himself.” Even the Eisenhower Library bookstore sells it.



By the first decade of the 21st century, most authors had rejected the notion of Eisenhower as ineffective. David Nichols, in *A Matter of Justice*, has shown how Eisenhower advanced the cause of civil rights, and in *Eisenhower 1956* how he skillfully managed the Suez crisis. Journalist Jim Newton’s *Eisenhower* concentrated on how well the President managed the White House, and historian Jean Edward Smith followed with *Eisenhower in War and Peace*. In this massive, full-length biography, a quarter of which is devoted to the presidency, Smith concludes that next to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ike “was the most successful President of the twentieth century.”

While the narrative on the Eisenhower presidency has shifted dramatically, from the story of an inept leader to that of a near-great one, most accounts of the actual events during his administration have remained



The President with five of his advisers on January 13, 1956, to discuss his Atoms for Peace program. Left to right: Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, the President, Secretary of State Dulles, National Security Adviser Dillon Anderson, Secretary of Commerce Lewis Strauss, and Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson. Initiatives and policies were Eisenhower's, even when others appeared to be the prime movers.

unchanged. (One recent exception was Evan Thomas's *Ike's Bluff*, which describes how the President thought about nuclear weapons from a strategic vantage point and analyzes how Ike combined his generalship and his civilian authority to maintain a fragile peace during the height of the Cold War.) If we no longer see Eisenhower as the golf-playing innocent happily ignoring the nation's problems, we do not yet have an unclouded picture of how the man actually governed. The mythology still obscures our vision.

President Eisenhower's organization revolved around the team concept. To Ike, a military professional who became the civilian commander-in-chief, the use of the team approach emerged logically from his West Point experience. The picture that will emerge in this book is of a military man at the top of the pyramid; his subordinates worked in layers below him and provided information. He listened well and assimilated a wide variety of material before arriving at a decision.

Eisenhower took charge of the budgetary, civil rights, legal, defense and diplomatic issues that he thought needed his personal attention. To reach the best solutions to complicated problems, he designated others inside his administration to carry out specific assignments. Secretary Dulles, for instance, provided valuable advice on foreign affairs. Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson managed

his department's sprawling bureaucracy while the President shaped military policy. In economic matters, the President depended on Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey and other advisers to help formulate fiscal policy. Although Ike admired and respected Attorney General Brownell, the President nevertheless played a major role in the Justice Department's direction. He valued these individuals but kept them in their place, emphasizing whenever necessary that he was in charge. In many important aspects of his administration, including critical areas where historians have depicted him as passive or disengaged, the initiatives and policies were Eisenhower's, even when others appeared to be the prime movers.



Depictions of Eisenhower's connection to Nixon have followed a particularly dark path. The relationship between the two men is variously described as ambivalent, loathsome, or hateful. In the spring of 1960, columnist and commentator Joseph Kraft wrote in an article in *Esquire* entitled "IKE vs. NIXON" that "it is remarkable that anyone could even suppose a close rapport between the President and Nixon." The two men's linkage puzzled Ambrose, who described them as at best ambivalent toward one another. More recently, in his 2011 book *American Caesars*, British author

Nigel Hamilton states: "Eisenhower had never liked or trusted Nixon, nor did he feel confident about Nixon holding the reins of America's imperial power." Hamilton claimed that Ike censored Nixon's speeches, rarely allowed him to enter the Oval Office, and prevented him from participating in "Cabinet and senior government meetings, save as an observer." These statements do not deviate at all from the mainstream view among historians; none of them are accurate.

A former presidential speechwriter, Emmet John Hughes, in *The Ordeal of Power*, released in 1963, claimed: "The relationship between Eisenhower and Nixon, at its warmest over the years, could never be described as confident and comradely." A pre-publication excerpt that appeared in *Look* magazine in November 1962 alleges that Eisenhower told Hughes before the 1956 Republican national convention that Nixon "was not presidential timber." Reporters asked the former President to comment, and he denied ever making that statement. No one has acknowledged Ike's disclaimer, and the derogatory characterization is regularly used to describe the two men's relationship.

Partisan biographers like Earl Mazo and Bela Kornitzer published sympathetic accounts about Nixon during his vice presidency, and after leaving office, Nixon defended himself in *Six Crises*. Many authors cast these works aside in favor of less complimentary depictions. *The New Republic* serialized a book by William Costello, *The Facts About Nixon*, just before the 1960 presidential election. Costello declared that Nixon had failed to assist GOP candidates in the 1954 elections and that the Vice President was "was widely blamed for the Republican party's reckless flirtation with the treason issue." These accusations were without merit. Most Republicans applauded Nixon for aiding the party's candidates, and they supported him in his efforts to remove subversives from the federal bureaucracy.



Anthony Summers, in his 2000 bestseller *The Arrogance of Power*, garnered headlines by claiming that Nixon went into psychotherapy sessions with Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker, who, according to Summers, gave the impression that he was a practicing psychiatrist. The *New York Times*, a decade later, blithely embraced Summers' allegations in Hutschnecker's obituary. The newspaper did not mention that the doctor was not a board-certified psychiatrist and never claimed to be one, or that he testified under oath at Senate and House hearings in November 1973 that he had never treated Nixon for psychological or psychiatric

reasons. Hutschnecker's records of his appointments with Nixon reveal that the doctor met with the Vice President for several annual checkups and on a few other occasions for stress-related illness.

Time magazine editors Nancy Gibbs and Michael Duffy, in *The Presidents Club*, looked at the relationships among the Presidents since Harry Truman. They include chapters on Eisenhower's association with Truman, Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson, as well as Nixon's association with Johnson, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush. Although Ike spent more time with Nixon than with the other three

Presidents combined, there is no chapter on Eisenhower and Nixon. Instead, the authors repeat the misinformation that "Eisenhower . . . never felt much warmth toward his Vice President." They also state that the Ike had Nixon fire cabinet members, even though he never had that authority.

Jeffrey Frank's 2013 book *Ike and Dick* magnifies the factual and interpretative errors. Frank is a well-respected journalist and novelist but untrained as a historian, and his book shows evidence of insufficient research. The small number and limited range of written sources cited suggest that he may have spent a month in the Eisenhower and Nixon

President Eisenhower delivering his Atoms for Peace speech before the U.N. General Assembly on December 8, 1953.



PEACE ★ PROSPERITY ★ PROGRESS



President Eisenhower campaigning for reelection in 1956. Eisenhower had offered Nixon a cabinet post, but Nixon chose to run for a second term as Vice President.

presidential libraries; each contains millions of documents that would take years to examine properly. In addition, Frank did not cite any of the thousands upon thousands of documents readily available on microfilm, including Eisenhower's diaries, legislative conferences, and cabinet meetings. On the basis of the tiny sample he cites, Frank advanced the proposition that the President could be cold blooded or worse and that Nixon reacted

as well as he could without losing his integrity. The relationship that emerges is that of a son trying to win the affection of a distant, bullying father. Ike's opinion of Nixon, according to Frank, changed over time "from the mild disdain that he felt for most politicians to hesitant respect."

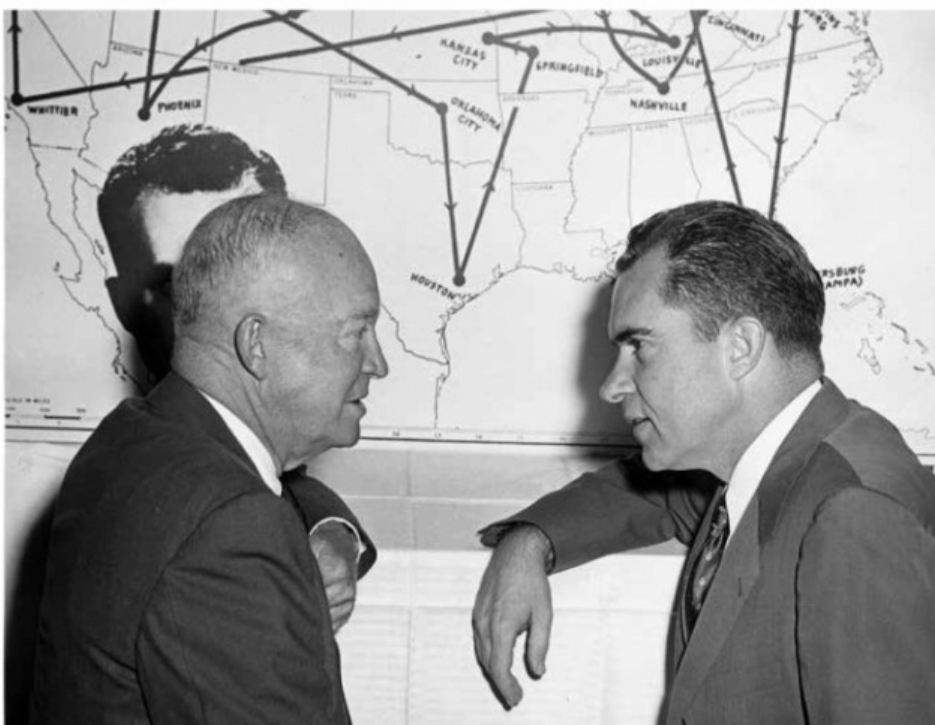
Authors have routinely failed to understand that the relationship between the President and Vice President matured over

eight years. At first they did not know each other's strengths and weaknesses. As Nixon became familiar with how Ike governed, he was better able to adapt the President's ideas to practical proposals and make himself a trusted part of the administration. This evolving relationship is almost completely absent from most accounts. Instead, incorrect information has been repeated for so long that it has been converted into fact.



To learn more about

- Eisenhower's health during the 1960 election, to go www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/fall/.
- The "thaw" between Ike and Harry Truman after both left the presidency, go to <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2013/fall-winter/>.
- Historians' evolving view of Franklin Roosevelt, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/winter/fdr-emerges.html.



Eisenhower grew to have great confidence in his Vice President, and allowed him to gradually assume a more diverse set of duties than anyone else in the administration.

Earlier authors have relied on three incidents to demonstrate Eisenhower's low regard for Nixon. The first starts with the 1952 fund crisis; the second is the unsuccessful "dump Nixon" drive spearheaded by White House disarmament adviser Harold Stassen a month before the 1956 Republican convention; the third came on August 24, 1960, when Eisenhower answered a reporter's question concerning what contribution Nixon made to the administration by saying "If you give me a week, I might think of one." The comment made front-page headlines.

Written records of the time show clearly that the general did not try to oust Nixon from the 1952 ticket, and the stubborn fact that he was not removed should give pause to those who stress a theme of discord between the two men. This is an example of the incoherence that bits of lingering mythology give to the standard picture of Eisenhower: he is now seen as a strong leader—yet too hapless to influence the selection of his own running

mate. In the second case, Ike suggested to Nixon months before the 1956 Republican convention that he take a cabinet post to gain experience managing a large bureaucracy. The President did not demand that Nixon leave the vice presidency but told him to make the decision he thought best. If Ike had wanted a different running mate for his second term, he certainly had the popularity to choose someone else. He did not approve and certainly never championed Stassen's initiative. Nixon saw a cabinet post as a demotion that would damage his political future, and he chose to run for reelection. Lastly, the accounts of the August 1960 press conference did not mention that the President was leaving the podium because that was his final question. He stated that he would respond the following week; he did not disclose that he was feeling poorly. No press conference was held the next week, and at the one that followed, no reporter asked the President to comment on the Vice President's value. After Ike made his intemperate remark, he apologized to Nixon. Authors have omitted that fact.

Such regularly repeated anecdotes affirm the unsubstantiated argument that Ike and Nixon were at odds. In reality, the two men worked well together. Ike grew to have great confidence in his Vice President and had Nixon express opinions during crucial meetings and summarize those of others. Nixon depended on the President to provide these opportunities and put forward his best effort to become the versatile utility player on Ike's team. More than anyone else in the administration, he understood the President's intentions on many different fronts and became an articulate spokesman for his policies. Because of Nixon's desire to advance the President's initiatives and because Eisenhower recognized his Vice President's talents, Nixon gradually assumed a more diverse set of duties than anyone else in the administration.

The President considered Nixon knowledgeable in political matters. He provided valuable advice regarding interaction between the executive and Congress, and during the two campaigns. Nixon initially tried to curb McCarthy's excesses, and when McCarthy angered the President by attacking the Army, Nixon assisted in the White House's quiet but effective campaign against the senator. The Vice President became the administration's leading spokesman on the civil rights. He chaired the President's Committee on Government Contracts, advancing minority employment and education. He also regularly spoke out for equal rights and helped push the Civil Rights Act of 1957 through the Senate.

While in Congress, Nixon had been a committed internationalist. As Vice President he traveled to Asia, Latin America, Europe, and Africa, became one of Ike's most trusted forward observers and matured into an expert on world affairs. The President briefed him before he left and debriefed him upon his return. Nixon relayed both his findings and his discussions with Ike to the National Security Council and relevant cabinet members. He learned a great deal in his travels and met many world leaders, with whom he

remained in contact. He and Dulles became intimate friends and shared ideas on the diplomatic initiatives.

The President's heart attack in 1955 has received a great deal of attention. During his recovery that fall and winter, Nixon assumed added responsibilities. Already overworked, he grew weary and suffered from insomnia; physicians prescribed barbiturates to relieve his symptoms. No one knew how incapacitated both the President and the Vice President were during this period.

Even in this troubling situation, Ike and Nixon worked well together. The Vice President's two military advisers were among the many who refuted the allegations of discord between the leaders. Robert Cushman, who handled national security matters for the Vice President, recalled that he never heard Nixon say anything critical of the President. Nixon's appointment secretary, Donald Hughes, reported that no animosity existed between the leaders.



Three months after leaving office, Nixon commented in a letter to a constituent, Mrs. Barbara Berghoefer, that while he did not know how history would view Ike, "for devotion to duty, for unshakeable dedication to high moral principle, for a determination always to serve what he regarded as the best interests of all Americans—on each of these scores, Mr. Eisenhower ranks with the greatest leaders our nation has ever had." He was privileged to have worked with Ike and to have learned "that real leadership is not a matter of florid words or action for its own sake. It is, rather, the undeviating application of the basic principles to the shifting details of day-to-day problems."

Sitting in the Oval Office on July 21, 1971, more than two years after Eisenhower's death, President Nixon reflected on his role in that earlier administration. He believed he had made a substantial contribution to solving a wide range of problems. During

the second term, he recalled, the President had him substitute for him at cabinet and NSC meetings as well as participate in many critical decisions. Ike, Nixon concluded, had treated him "extremely well." Due to lingering partisan bitterness and the Watergate scandal, Nixon remains an easy target. The fable that Ike limited Nixon's role in the administration and that the two were antagonistic toward each other has permitted the selective rehabilitation of Ike's reputation without requiring a similar reexamination of Nixon's, and this selectivity blocks an accurate understanding of the Eisenhower presidency. The enormous weight of the evidence

points to a fundamentally different relationship. Ike entered the presidency ready to lead. Nixon was eager to follow. **P**

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Author

Irwin F. Gellman has taught at several American universities and is now an independent scholar living in the Philadelphia suburbs. His books include *The Contender*, an account of Richard Nixon's congressional years; *Secret Affairs*, which explores the relationship between Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles; and *Good Neighbor Diplomacy and Roosevelt and Batista*, which look at U.S. policy in Latin American and Cuba from 1933 to 1945.

NOTE ON SOURCES

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The Richard Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, California, contains Nixon's letter to Barbara Berghoefer, April 21, 1961, B 237, Eisenhower ½, Series 320, and the Oval Office tape for July 21, 1971, conv. no. 541-2.

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A REEL STORY OF WORLD WAR II

**The United News Collection of Newsreels
Documents the Battlefield and the Home Front**

by PHILLIP W. STEWART

A while back, I had a conversation with a young independent film producer lamenting the lack of specific World War II newsreel footage she needed at the National Archives.

Told by a number of her colleagues that the Universal Newsreel film collection had “tons” of World War II–related footage, she went to the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, and started perusing video copies in the Motion Picture, Sound, and Video research room. She didn’t find much, however, and went home dejected.

Somehow, she tracked me down to share her disappointment in Universal’s lack of coverage of certain critical early wartime events. After she told me what she was looking for, I explained the probable reason why—fire. Back in 1978, a nitrate film fire destroyed almost three years of Universal releases that documented 1941–1943, the exact timeframe she was interested in. After that sank in, she wondered if I could suggest a plan B.

“Yep,” I said, “United News . . . also known as the United Newsreel.”

This motion picture newsreel covers the Allied activities of the war (and one year of postwar events) from June 1942 through September 1946. Each weekly release contains one to nine news stories and averages a bit over nine minutes in length. It has the added bonus of a complete and “swell” propaganda-type narration.

At any rate, the conversation continued for a while, but you get the idea. If you are looking for World War II–related moving images, in glorious black and white, with a wartime patriotic audio track, make sure you check out the National Archives’ United News newsreel collection.



Opposite: The standard opening frame from the United News newsreels. The film series covers the Allied activities of the war, and one year of postwar events, from June 1942 through September 1946. *Above:* A story on the first daylight bombings over Berlin reports that the joint U.S.–British raids “are pounding Germany with raids around the clock.” It also notes that 68 American planes failed to return.



*Left top: Americans at home were glad to see images of the Swedish exchange ship *Gripsholm* arriving in New York harbor with 663 Americans on board who had been released from Nazi internment and prison camps. Left bottom: Footage of Nazi prisoners of war at a camp in the northern United States demonstrated that they were well-housed, well-clothed, and well-fed. Many volunteered in workshops or as lumberjacks.*



The Backstory Of the Reel Story

What follows is a story of how this newsreel came to be and how to find and use the film now to help tell future generations about the Second World War.

In times of war, the manipulation of thought and emotion is considered essential to generate a high level of morale, commitment, unity, and focus within soldiers, their families, and the “home front” in general. About a month after World War II started, President Franklin D. Roosevelt articulated the need to convey to

the American populace a more accurate understanding of six crucial aspects of the conflict: the issues of the war, the enemy’s goals and characteristics, the concept of the Allied coalition, the importance of domestic production, the role of civilians on the home front, and the realities faced by the fighting men.

To make this happen, Roosevelt established the Office of War Information (OWI) by Executive Order 9182 on June 13, 1942. This order consolidated the functions of the Office of Facts and Figures, the Office of Government Reports, and the Division of Information of the Office for Emergency Management. The Foreign Intelligence Service, Outpost, Publication, and Pictorial branches of the Office of the Coordinator of Information were also transferred to OWI.

In other words, OWI became the official arm of government propaganda. All of the activities previously covered by the above-mentioned offices, as well as over 3,000 employees, were placed under the direction of Elmer Davis, formerly a prominent CBS radio newscaster. Davis was keenly aware of the need to interpret the President’s war aims onto the silver screen in order to make the motion picture an indispensable weapon of democracy.

OWI’s Reach Extended Around the World

The OWI’s Domestic Branch coordinated the release of war news for distribution on the home front via its Radio Bureau. It also managed two photographic units that documented the country’s mobilization, war plant production, and women in the workforce. The branch’s Bureau of Motion Pictures, through

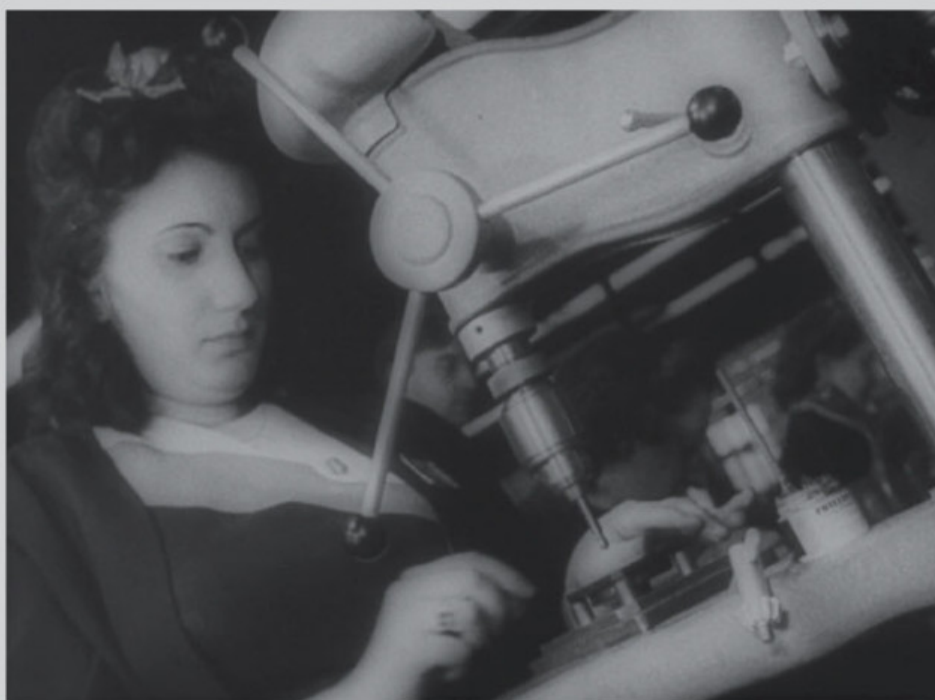
Right top: "Along every road in endless procession, [Italian] refugees stream toward collecting stations set up by the Allied military government," notes a film narrator. The evacuation was "one of the great rescue achievements of the war." Right bottom: Newsreel stories celebrated the great variety of work done by women on the home front, from riveters and welders to clerical assistants and laboratory technicians.

its Hollywood Office, provided a liaison with the American motion picture industry. Its job was to help coordinate the production, distribution, and exhibition of theatrical films that advanced the government's war aims.

Through its Overseas Branch, OWI launched a huge information and propaganda campaign abroad. Part of this vast effort was the production and distribution of the United News newsreel designed primarily to counter enemy propaganda and advance the Allied cause. Under the direction of the Overseas Motion Picture Division, United News was produced cooperatively by five major American newsreel firms, reportedly in 16 languages. It was not only distributed to Allied, neutral, and not-so-friendly nations scattered all over the globe, but also parachuted behind enemy lines in a German-language version. It also found its way to American audiences through non-theatrical distribution to groups like community organizations, libraries, and educational institutions.

The exact roles, arrangements, and agreements that produced the United News newsreel seem lost in the fog of history, but snippets of anecdotal evidence and some applied logic would suggest the following scenario. In mid-1942, and at OWI's request, Paramount Pictures (Paramount News), RKO Radio Pictures (Pathé News), 20th Century-Fox (Movietone News), Universal Studios (Universal Newsreel), and the Hearst Corporation (News of the Day) voluntarily formed a private, nonprofit, fully government-funded organization, named the United Newsreel Corporation.

Each newsreel company, with War Department approval, was permitted to



send two civilian camera crews to the major fighting fronts. Once the 35mm film was exposed, the original footage was gathered and combined with motion pictures filmed by military combat cameramen. All of these reels were sent to the War Department for evaluation and to be censored, as necessary.

Military Review Produced Time Lag

When it was finished with its review, the military would make copies available of the approved footage to all U.S. newsreel companies, including United News headquartered in New



Many film stories celebrated the christening and launching of ships so vital for the war effort. The Emergency Shipbuilding Program achieved construction of thousands of cargo ships to carry troops and materiel overseas.

Locating United News In the National Archives

According to the online National Archives Catalog (NAC), 258 1,000-foot reels of 35mm film along with boxes of production files and notes were transferred to the National Archives from OWI and State Department files sometime before 1955. The collection was officially cataloged as:

Record Group 208: Records of the Office of War Information, 1926–1951
Series: Motion Picture Films from “United News” Newsreels, 1942–1945
National Archives Identifier: 38905;
Local Identifier: 208-UN

Creator(s): Office for Emergency Management. Office of War Information. Overseas Operations Branch. New York Office. News and Features Bureau. 12/17/1942–9/15/1945

(The dates don’t agree with what is written in the above historical narrative, but I can’t comment on why or how things were cataloged 60 years ago.)

Altogether, 267 United News items are listed in the catalog. But when a duplicate story and a misidentified reel are subtracted from the list, the collection contains 265 historically significant World War II newsreels.

Each release is listed by the title of the first story in the reel. Assuming that my arithmetic is accurate, there are 1,220 individual newsreel stories in this collection. Of these, approximately 1,002 document wartime-related topics, while 218 cover postwar events. If you break it down by year of release, there were 171 stories produced in 1942, 273 in 1943, 333 in 1944, 292 in 1945, and 151 in 1946. There should be a few more, but three releases appear to be missing from, or were never transferred with, the collection.

York City. As you might imagine, with shipping times and wartime priorities, this process could sometimes take weeks or even months to complete. As a result, war-related stories released to the public were seldom considered timely.

In the meantime, United Newsreel partners would document motivational and informational stateside stories and send them to New York City, where OWI personnel would review the film for content, censor it as needed, and release the approved footage back to the partners for their use. At that point, war front and home front scenes would be selected as needed to visualize the United News stories set for the next issue.

Integrating “canned” music and sound effects, occasional wild sounds, a rare sound-on-film speech segment, and an OWI-written narration in the appropriate language, the corporation manufactured 16mm prints and distributed them through the established overseas outlets of the partner companies. Further distribution was made through military and diplomatic channels in areas and to audiences not served by established nongovernment networks.

As the war continued, congressional opposition to OWI’s domestic operations curtailed almost all stateside funding, and by 1944 it operated mostly abroad, where it helped to maintain Allied confidence and to undermine enemy morale. At the war’s end, President Harry S. Truman cited OWI for its “outstanding contribution to victory” and promptly abolished it, effective September 15, 1945.

The relatively short history of the OWI is marked by political intrigue, overstepped authority, and an extraordinary drive to do its part to help shorten the war. This history makes for some fascinating reading.

But the United News story doesn’t end with the cessation of hostilities. In recognition of a job well done, it continued production of a weekly newsreel for overseas audiences. As soon as OWI ceased to exist, the United Newsreel Corporation reorganized into a new company, United Newsreel International, Inc., with the same partners, under the direction of the U.S. State Department. This arrangement allowed United News to provide a key component in the successful informational programs used in the occupied territories through June 1946.

U.S. Marines rehearse invasion tactics “they’ve already been called upon to use” on a Pacific Island. “Called the most versatile troops in the world,” the narrator states, their immediate objective is securing strategic outposts on the way to Japan.

While the individual story titles within a given issue are not listed in the online catalog, the “Scope & Content” section for each release gives a brief summary of the content. About a third of the newsreels also have online transcripts.

The subject matter of the United News stories runs the gamut of the life and times of the people, places, and events of a war-torn world. All major (and some minor) fighting fronts are covered, in the air, on the ground, and on the sea.

Allied Unity Stressed In United’s Reports

The unity of the Allied nations, under the banner of “United Nations,” is highlighted regularly, as are stories regarding the perils of Fascism and Nazism, especially during the first two years. Home front stories focus on multiple points, including military training, civilian war production, women in the workforce, war bond drives, and many other subjects. Postwar stories include coverage of the establishment of the United Nations Organization, the war trials, reconstruction efforts, famine relief, and anything atomic, just to name a few. Basically, if it happened and wasn’t classified, it’s probably shown in the United News newsreel.

For some reason, there are two separate sequential numbered groups applied to this collection: #1-212 and #1001-1051. Each appears to be in chronological release order. The first group documents June 1942–June 1946 and features stories from all the war fronts. The second group covers June 1944–May 1945 and focuses predominately on the European Theater from D-day to the German surrender.

Based on image content and script vocabulary, I believe the first group contains those issues that were released to American and other English-speaking audiences. The source of



the newsreels in the second group proved elusive until I discovered a short reference to a “London Edition.” These issues were produced in collaboration with the British Ministry of Information, the Free World Newsreel, and London-based representatives of exiled governments. Since all the stories in this second group feature a preponderance of Commonwealth moving images, storylines, and language (except, of course, for the one narrated in French), I believe that these reels are the surviving releases of the United News London Edition, intended for viewers in the United Kingdom. Based on a review of all the stories in the entire collection, there appears to be little overlap of story titles or shared footage between the two groups.

A Sample Transcript Illustrates Breadth of Film Coverage

To give you a better idea as to the scope of the subject matter covered in this newsreel, below is a representative “as recorded” transcript (with story titles added) of United News #95, released on March 24, 1944. The title of this reel is listed in the National

Archives Catalog as “U.S. BOMBERS IN FIRST DAYLIGHT RAID ON BERLIN [ETC.]” It contains seven stories and is approximately 10½ minutes long (RG 208-UN-95, NAI 39002). Much of what you will read below is “propaganda style” English, and the spaces between blocks of narration are filled with music and/or sound effects.

U.S. BOMBERS IN FIRST DAYLIGHT RAID ON BERLIN

NARRATOR: Leaving trails of steaming vapor in their wake, United States bombers bound for Berlin to destroy armament industries in and around the Nazi war capital. In their first daylight mission over the heart of Hitler’s fortress, American bombers, combined with British Air Forces, are pounding Germany with raids around the clock.

One propeller out a bomber limps home. In all, 68 American planes failed to return. But the next day and the next, American bombers returned in follow-up raids.

Today, squadrons like these in ever-increasing numbers are taking the war home to Germany itself.



King George II of Greece visits with President Franklin D. Roosevelt to secure aid for his nation's resistance and forces fighting in Africa.

AMERICANS HOME FROM NAZI PRISONS REPORT ON WAR

NARRATOR: Back from her fourth war-time journey of mercy, the Swedish exchange ship "Gripsholm" arrives in New York harbor. Aboard are 663 Americans, home from Nazi internment and prison camps.

Wounded soldiers, war correspondents, and diplomats are among her passenger list. They bring firsthand news of conditions in Nazi-occupied countries. Douglas MacArthur, nephew of General MacArthur, was attached to the American Embassy at Vichy.

Ralph Heinzen was Paris correspondent for an American news service.

RALPH HEINZEN: We're very glad to get home. We've been thirteen months interned in Germany and thirteen bad months for the Germans as well as for ourselves. Because in

those thirteen months Germany has lost the war. They know they're whipped, but they're wondering how they're going to get out of it. Last year, Hitler has lost tremendously his prestige, particularly as a military leader. All through Europe, there's a very fierce underground warfare going on against Germany. In every occupied country of Europe, but particularly in France, there is this mighty organization of courageous patriots who are waging a war day and night against the forces of occupation.

AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE NEWS

NARRATOR: A transport plane lands at a Caribbean port. Aboard is Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President, making the first stop in her latest tour of American Army outposts.

With General Shedd, commanding garrisons

in the Puerto Rican theater of operations, she reviews troops on guard in the Caribbean.

In Australia, Mrs. Douglas MacArthur, wife of the Allied Commander in the Southwest Pacific, sponsors a new destroyer built by Australian workmen.

MRS. MACARTHUR: I christen thee "Bataan," and may God bless you.

NARRATOR: And His Majesty's Australian Ship "Bataan" goes down the ways, dedicated to avenge the gallant fighters in the Philippines whose heroism will never be forgotten.

NAZI PRISONERS VOLUNTEER FOR WORK IN U.S. CAMP

NARRATOR: Nazi prisoners of war at a camp in northern United States. In full accord with the Geneva Convention, prisoners are well-housed, well-clothed, and well-fed. Although prisoners are not required to work, many volunteer as lumberjacks, for which they are paid 80 cents a day.

A snow-shoveling detail. Prisoners keep their own camp in order.

By doing work like this in the shoe shop, captives are able to buy cigarettes and other luxuries.

War prisoners receive the same rations as American soldiers or an equivalent in their own type of food, if they prefer.

These Signal Corps pictures show a fully-equipped recreation room provided for the captives, who even have their own band. America scrupulously observes the principles of humanity in her treatment of war prisoners.



To learn more about

- Images from World War I in the National Archives, go to: www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/summer/.
- The motion picture collections in the National Archives, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/summer/.
- The work of digitizing the moving images of World War I, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2014/fall/.

Right top: Dominion airmen in U.S.-built fighter planes patrol the air over the island of New Guinea for Japanese planes. Right bottom: A massive parade of 500,000 marchers, including mechanized equipment, celebrated the 28 countries allied against the Axis Powers in a 12-hour procession along New York City's Fifth Avenue.

ITALIAN REFUGEES MOVED TO SAFETY BY ALLIED POWERS

NARRATOR: Officers of the Allied military government draw up plans for the evacuation of thousands of homeless civilians from Italian battle areas. At one large estate, more than 10,000 Italians found refuge from fighting zones.

Along every road in endless procession, refugees stream toward collecting stations set up by the Allied military government. Many helpless families made homeless by the German seizure of their country were forced north during the Nazi retreat. Stripped of most of their possessions, only a few were adequately clothed or fed until the Allied 5th Army landed.

Moving these helpless people from the ruins of their shattered homes is one of the great rescue achievements of the war. The real tragedy is the plight of the very young. The world into which they were born has been a world of suffering and sorrow.

Now the Allied authorities opened the way to a new haven, a haven where they may wait in safety for the day of peace. As quickly as possible, Army trucks take them to ports of embarkation.

Here, giant LSTs, landing ships built to carry huge 30 ton tanks, take on their trucks and their human cargoes for transportation to Naples, a hundred miles down the coast.

Sanctuary in Southern Italy. Here, many Italians find new hope and new lives in liberated territory.

For the sake of brevity, I only included five of the seven stories in the above sample. To watch and listen to the entire release, go to the listing in the National Archives Catalog (<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/39002?q=39002>) or go to the National Archives YouTube page (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TM5jkZh-VZ8>).



A Research Tip for Using The National Archives Catalog

If you would like to investigate the United News collection, go to the National Archives Catalog home page at www.archives.gov/research/catalog/. Type “38905” (minus the

quotes) into the search box, and click “search.” On the results page, look for “Motion Picture Films from ‘United News’ Newsreels, 1942–1945.” It should be in the first position on the list. Clicking on the title will take you to the collection’s series catalog page. Scroll down a bit until you see “Includes: 267



British tanks take part in the capture of Tunis from the Nazis to mark the end of a three-year struggle for the continent. Footage shows the surrender of remaining pockets of German soldiers in the city.

item(s) described in the catalog” and click on “Search within this series.” You’ll see a multipage list of the United News issues, in ascending catalog number order. If you click on the blue film frame to the left of a newsreel title, you will be able to watch that reel. As of this writing, 93 issues have been digitized for your viewing pleasure.

It should be noted that the quality of the newsreel you’ll see and hear is known as a “reference video.” It’s a digitized copy made from an analog U-matic videotape format copy recorded in 1984 of the 35mm original film. The resulting images are usually a bit fuzzy, grainy, contrasty, and the sound is, at times, over modulated. Compounding this is the fact that these reference videotapes are now 31 years old and have been very well used. Just be aware that these reference videos are . . . what they are, and do not necessarily reflect the quality of the 35mm original footage held within the National Archives’ film vault. I have seen a few stories remastered from the original prints, and the quality is superbly sharp with a well-mixed monaural audio track.

After you have completed your search, you may have found some releases or stories that the National Archives has yet to digitize and link to online catalog or its YouTube channel. Here are some options for viewing reference-quality copies.

Videos and/or DVDs of all the United News releases are available for viewing at the Motion Picture, Sound, and Video research room in College Park, Maryland. You can make your own copies, too, if you wish. If you choose to do this, it’s best to send an email to the staff (mopix@nara.gov) in advance of your visit so they can make sure that playback equipment is available.

Another option is to hire a private film researcher to make reference copies of your selected titles and have them sent to you. For those of you outside a reasonable driving distance of College Park, this may be a viable cost option when compared to the price of an airline ticket. A list of researchers is available at www.archives.gov/research/hire-help/media.html?format=motion-pictures.

Over the last few years, the National Archives has partnered with video production and distribution companies that have produced a number of DVDs. Amazon.com is one of those partners and has the newsreels for sale and also available for video streaming.

If you happen to be a member of the educational company Alexander Street Press or the genealogy portal Ancestry.com, you have streaming access to the entire collection.

With the explosive growth of material on the Internet, and the fact that United News

is not under copyright, some titles are now accessible as downloads or streaming video via various websites. Google Videos, Internet Archive, and YouTube come to mind.

Last, you may want to search the web by the story title. You never really know what’s out there.

Wrapping Up: An Unseen Treasure

This country is truly fortunate to have such a rich collection of motion picture recorded history preserved in the film vault of the National Archives. However, with the possible exception of the Universal Newsreel, much of the moving image film collection is seldom seen by the general public and is, I believe, an underused historical resource. Only through articles like this one, readers like you, the enhanced use of the footage by media producers, and its increased application as a historical research tool can we ensure that the films are available for future generations. It is a collection well worth cherishing.

Oh by the way, that young producer I mentioned in the beginning—she found what she was looking for in United News. Her last email to me said, “doin’ the happy dance, thanks!” **P**

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Author

Phillip W. Stewart is an award-winning author and recipient of the J. Franklin Jameson Archival Advocacy Award given by the Society

of American Archivists for his work promoting motion picture film preservation and research at the National Archives. He is the author of 10 film-related books and a *Prologue* veteran, with three previous articles. His most recent book is titled *WARFILMS: An Overview of Motion Pictures Within Military Record Groups Held in the U.S. National Archives*. His website is www.pwstewart.com.



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES FOUNDATION

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SELFRIDGES & CO.

The Chicago Origins of a London Merchant

By Stephanie D. Smith

The day Harry Gordon Selfridge opened his big department store in the heart of London's shopping district, it was the fulfillment of a lifelong dream. During that first week in 1909, it was estimated, more than a million people came through the doors of Selfridges & Co.

On March 15, 1909, Selfridge delivered American business notions of advertising, customer service, and showmanship to the tradition-steeped, change-resistant English. He accomplished what his English critics said was impossible for an American in London.

Harry Gordon Selfridge was making shopping fun, not drudgery. He put his wares on display so customers could see and feel them. He adhered to the old principle, "The customer is always right." He was constantly thinking of ways to make it easy for customers to shop in his store.

He had climbed his mountain, planted his flag, and rightfully claimed his title as the owner of a major and booming retail department store.

Today, these aspects of shopping in department stores might seem even tame, but Londoners of a century ago had never seen the kind of store that Harry Gordon Selfridge brought to them on Oxford Street—a creation that Selfridge had learned to create on Main Street in America's Midwestern heartland and with such legendary retailers as Chicago's Marshall Field.

In recent years, the man behind Selfridge's department store has been reintroduced to American audiences through PBS's Masterpiece series *Mr. Selfridge*. The television show begins with arrival in London of the energetic retail entrepreneur, but Selfridge's origins did not promise such success. The curious researcher can find pieces of his early story in records preserved in the National Archives.

Father Abandons Harry, Mother; She Takes Teaching Job in Michigan

The earliest mention of the future tycoon is in the 1860 federal population census, which lists the two-year-old Harry living with his parents, Robert Oliver Selfridge and Lois Frances Selfridge, in Liberty County, Texas. From U.S. passport applications he filed as an adult, we learn that his birthplace was Ripon, Wisconsin. In these later documents, however, he seems to have shaved a few years off his age as he gave his birthdate as January 11, 1864.

Robert and Lois Selfridge had married in 1853 in Hillsdale, Michigan. Their first two sons, Robert junior

and Charles, both died in infancy. Further misfortune followed the family during the Civil War and its aftermath.

Selfridge senior enlisted in Grand Rapids, Michigan, as a first lieutenant in the Third Michigan Volunteer Cavalry Regiment on September 7, 1861. His promotion to several ranks including captain, major, lieutenant colonel, and assistant adjutant general are documented in appointment papers and letters he wrote accepting the posts.

On Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's recommendation, dated November 1, 1863, Selfridge obtained the post of inspector general for the Fourth Army Corps. Selfridge resigned from the Army on February 21, 1865, and was honorably discharged, but after his military service, he abandoned his family and was later reported to have died in a railroad accident.

The departure of the elder Selfridge had a tremendous impact on the family. By 1870, the federal census noted that Harry and his mother elected to remain in the Midwest and were living in Jackson, Michigan.

Lois Selfridge, now a single mother, supported herself and her young son Harry by working as a schoolteacher. In a 1932 interview published by the *Milwaukee Journal*, Harry recounted that by the time he was 14, he had stopped going to school and taken up a job in a Jackson bank and later became a factory bookkeeper.

A Young Harry Is Hired By Chicago's Marshall Field

Harry was 15 or 16 years old when he received an opportunity to change his life.

A family friend gave him a letter of introduction to Chicago merchant Marshall Field, who hired him and

Opposite: Harry Gordon Selfridge, ca. 1880. Before he established his legendary department store in London in 1909, he had achieved great success as a retailer with Chicago's Marshall Field.

Head Quarters Division
Camp near Cornsboro May 14 1862.

Head Order
No 31

1st Lieutenant R. O. Selfridge,
3rd Mich Cavalry, having been commissioned by
the President. As Adj. General with the
rank of Captain from April 25-1862. And
having in accordance with order from the
War Department, reported to these Head Quarters
for duty, is hereby assigned to duty on
the Staff of this division as Assistant. Adj. General
with the rank of Captain,
and will be addressed, obeyed, and respected
accordingly.

G. Granger.

Brig. Gen. Command.

Office
Adj. General
1st Lt. R. O. Selfridge

May 14, 1862

Presented to the three Battalions
Adj. Gen.

Head Quarters, Department of the North-West,

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL

Milwaukee, Wis. June 19 1863.

General: I am directed by the Major
General Commanding, to enclose to you
the within copy of his letter to Mr.
Cleggitt of Rockwell Iron, in relation
to the destruction of his printing
press &c by the soldiers at Rockwell.
The letter is forwarded for your
guidance and instructions in the
investigation of these matters of Mr.
Cleggitt, which have been referred
to you.

Respectfully,

Brig. Gen. R. S. Roberts.

Quincy, Ill.

R. O. Selfridge
Adj. Gen.

FW 4324 3.13.1863

Head: Quarters 4th Army Corps.
Chattanooga Tenn: Oct 29-1863

General:

I have the honor to request the
appointment of the following named officers,
viz:

✓ 1st Major Robert O. Selfridge, Asst. Adj. Gen.
of Vol., to be Asst. Inspector General for
the 4th Army Corps, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

✓ 2nd Major Joseph S. Fullerton Asst. Adj. Gen. of
Vol., to be Asst. Adj. Gen., with the rank of
Lieutenant Colonel.

✓ 3rd Capt. J. G. Taylor to be Aid-de-Camp with
the rank of Captain.

4th Major John Mendenhall, Judge Advocate,
to be assigned as judge advocate 4th Army Corps

Very Respdy.

Your Obedt. Servt.

Gordon Granger

Major Genl. Comdr.

Brig. Genl. George Thomas
Adjutant General
W. S. A.

Top left: A general order of May 14, 1862, assigned 1st Lt. R. O. Selfridge as assistant adjutant general with the rank of captain and stressed that he "will be addressed, obeyed, and respected accordingly." Above: Robert O. Selfridge, as acting adjutant general, forwarded information to Brig. Gen. R. S. Roberts on an investigation of the destruction of a printing press by soldiers. Left: Robert O. Selfridge was promoted to assistant inspector general for the 4th Army Corps through recommendation of Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger on October 29, 1863. Opposite: Gen. Ulysses S. Grant recommended R. O. Selfridge to serve as inspector general for the 4th Army Corps on November 2, 1863.

sent him to work in the store basement at the rate of 10 dollars a week. Harry leaped at the chance, which would soon pay off in ways he could never have imagined.

By 1880, the federal census revealed that 22-year-old Harry had moved to Chicago and resided on Ohio Street. His occupation is listed as salesman. In the *Milwaukee Journal* interview, Harry detailed how he started his department store career at Field, Leitner & Co., which would later become the famous Marshall Field and Company. By the time he was 25, he became a company partner with the likes of such notable Chicago pioneers as John G. Shedd.

Harry's tenacity at Field's drove him from lowly stock boy to a partner earning a

Office U. S. Military Telegraph,
WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following Telegram received at Washington, 355 a M. Nov 2 1863.
18 From Chattanooga M.
Dated, - Nov 1 1863.

Lt Col Jas a Hardie

The following staff

officers are recommended for the Fourth
Army corps = Maj J. S. Fullerton ady Vols

A. A. G. Vols. Maj Robert. O. Selfridge Inspector Genl

Reg. Dr. Mr. Capt Niatt ^{Hyatt Co. Ransom} Ransen chf 2 m

2. Iowa Caval. 1st Lt Thos G Benham Senior aid

Capt. A S Taylor, Wm L Avery aids

M S Grant

43 cal

Maj Genl

percentage of the profits. He earned \$20,000 in his first year as a partner and amassed a fortune that allowed him to consider early retirement.

At the age of 32, now as a successful partner with Marshall Field and Company, Harry was able to turn his sights toward romance.

The woman in his sights was Rosalie Amelia Buckingham, whom he married on November 11, 1890. Rose, as she was called, was related to the Ebenezer Buckingham family,

best remembered for funding Buckingham Fountain in Chicago's Grant Park. However, heartbreak struck during the first year of their marriage when the couple's first child, a son named Chandler, died in 1891.

By 1900, as the census shows, the Selfridge family had grown to include two daughters, Rosalie and Violet. Two more children, Harry Gordon junior and Beatrice, followed within four years.

The family, which included Harry's mother, Lois, enjoyed a lavish lifestyle. Harry built a beautiful family vacation home, Harrose Hall in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, in 1898, and their city address was on fashionable Lake Shore Drive. *The Chicago Sunday Tribune* featured them in the society section just to detail their travel plans.

In a May 13, 1906, *Tribune* article, the family is prominently and elegantly presented



To learn more about

- Using federal records for local history research, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/genealogy-notes.html#local.
- Military service records in the National Archives, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/fall/military-records-overview.html.
- How bankruptcy records can fill in your genealogy, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2014/fall/bankruptcy.pdf.

DISPOSED OF

9

NUMBER.	NAMES OF PARTIES.	
23767 722 799	In the Matter of Application of Marshall Field and Co for a review of the decision of the United States Board of General Appraisers at New York, (Joseph N. Field, Harlow N. Higinbotham, Robert M. Fair, Thomas Templeton, Lafayette M. Williams, Harry G. Selfridge and John G. Eshed	Action, Customs Case Damages, Attorneys, N. W. Bliss Per Peff

		Plf's Costs.	Dft's Costs.	Paid by Plf.	Paid by Dft.
1895					
June 3	Filed 2 ^d Application Statement of Errors	10		25 00	
" "	" Bond for Costs	25			
" "	" Notice to Dist Atty	10			
" "	" 2 ^d Application for Order for return of record	10			
" "	Order for return of record	30			
" "	Get copy of order sent to New York	80			
" 21	Filed Return of record	10			
" "	" Samples	10			
1896					
Jan 17	Cause heard and adjust	15			
Apr 1	Appeal dis. &c.	30			
" "	Complete judgt record	4 50			
" "	Daying costs	2 00			
		8 40			
		25 10			
		16 30			
Apr 28	Filed petn. for appeal, assignments of error and end. and. allowing appeal	50			
" "	" bond on appeal	10			
		16 90			
	Transcript	12 80			
		29 70			
		25			
	May 11/96 Paid	4 70			



And on the same day, to wit, the Third day of June A. D. 1895 came the Applicants by their attorney and filed in said Clerks office their Application for Review and Assignment of Errors Which said Application and Assignment are in the words and figures following to wit.

APPLICATION FOR REVIEW AND
ASSIGNMENT OF ERRORS.

General No. Term No.

In the Circuit Court of the United States
For the Northern Division of the
Northern District of Illinois.

June Term, 1895.

In the Matter of the Appli-)
cation of Marshall Field & Co., for)
a review of the Decision of the)
United States Board of General Ap-)
praisers at New York.)

Protests 25045 B- 11889
25316 B- 12025
25748 B - 12087

Marshall Field, Joseph N. Field, Har-
low N. Riginbotham, Robert M. Fair, Thomas Tem-leton, LaFayette
McWilliams, Harry G. Selfridge and John G. Shedd, allege that at
the times hereinafter named, they were co-partners doing business
in the City of Chicago under the firm of Marshall Field & Co.
That on or about the dates hereinafter set forth, said firm
owned, imported and entered at the Port of Chicago, certain mer-
chandise to wit, certain swiss and other sashes which merchandise
was imported into the Port of New York per S. S. Waesland on the

1908-536
No 103.

(Form No. 110—Consular.)
(Backsheet April 14, 1903)

19 FEB 1906
U.S.A. LONDON

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF AMERICAN CITIZEN.

I, Robert J. Wynne, Consul-General of the United States of America at London, England, hereby certify that Harry Gordon Selfridge is registered as an American citizen in this consulate. He was born January 11th 1858 at Ripon, Wis, and is a citizen of the United States by birth (citizenship). He arrived in London on May, 1906, where he is now residing for the purpose of conducting a business (dry goods). He is married to Rosalie Buckingham Selfridge who was born in Chicago, Ill. and resides at London. (Place of wife's residence.)

He has the following children:

Rosalie B. born in Chicago on September 10th 1893 and residing at London.
and Niolette B. born in Chicago on June 5th 1897 and residing at London.
and Harry G. Jr. born in Chicago on April 2nd 1900 and residing at London.
and Beatrice B. born in Lake Geneva, Wis on July 30th 1901 and residing at London.

His citizenship of the United States is established by formally having taken the Oath.

This certificate is not a passport and its validity expires on _____ (Date of expiration.)
The following is the signature of Harry Gordon Selfridge (Signature of person registered.)
In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name and affixed my seal of office.
Rosalie Wynne
American Consul General

(L. S.)
(NO FEE)

Opposite: A docket sheet for the 1895 case *In the Matter of Application of Marshall Field and Company* lists Harry G. Selfridge and his partners and the fees paid on an appeal before the United States Circuit Court for the Northern District of Illinois. Left: In their 1895 court appeal before the United States Circuit Court, the Marshall Field Company partners disputed duties paid on "certain swiss and other sashes which merchandise was imported into the Port of New York." Such appeals were common by major retailers. Right: A certificate of registration signed by the American consul in London records Harry Gordon Selfridge's arrival in London in May 1906 for the purpose of establishing a dry goods business, and the names and birthplaces of his wife and four children.

as the "largest family of youngsters on the Drive." The article further praised the Selfridge family home as a model for others to follow. The Selfridges were firmly cemented as a part of American high society. While London had become a frequent travel destination for the family, Chicago was still considered, at least at this time, the family's home.

While at Field & Co., Harry Has a Brush with the Law

Harry's tenure at Marshall Field and Company groomed him for his future success and taught him how to deal with bumps along the way.

A careful inspection of court indexes, dockets, and records of law and equity cases in the National Archives at Chicago unearthed a small but interesting case involving Marshall Field and Company. Harry as a partner was named in the 1895 case *In the Matter of Application of Marshall Field and Company*. Case number 23767 was an appeal from a decision of the Board of General Appraisers that was brought before the United States Circuit Court for the Northern District of Illinois. Custom cases such as these were common because major retailers often disputed the duties they had to pay on their imported merchandise.

The Board of General Appraisers was established by Congress in 1890 and was required "to decide controversies related to appraisals of imported goods and classifications of tariffs." The board's headquarters was in New York City, but appeals from the board's decisions were reviewable by the U.S. circuit courts.

Essentially, the dispute involved the duties paid to the Custom House at the Port and District of Chicago on imported swiss cambric and renaissance sashes. These sashes were likely used in women's fashion apparel.

District Judge Peter S. Grosscup heard the appeal on April 1, 1896. He ultimately

found that the duties were properly assessed according to law and that the board's decision should be affirmed and the appeal dismissed with costs charged to Marshall Field and Company.

Experiences such as these would have provided Harry with an understanding of the legal and managerial wrangling necessary to run a large trade establishment.

Ambitious, Harry Competes with Field

Harry left Marshall Field and Company in 1904 at the age of 46. He recounted his frustration during this period of his life in a 1935 four-part series titled "Selling Selfridge: Some Random Reflections of an American Merchant in London," published in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

In the first article, Harry described that his decision to separate from Field was brought about by his unyielding ambition. After being rebuffed by Field for as Harry stated, "something I had said or done," he took a quick trip to New York and bought the business of Schlesinger and Mayer. The business owned a store on State Street just south of Marshall Fields.

Harry informed Field of his purchase and was shocked at how well Field presumably took the blow. In "Selling Selfridge," Harry stated that he felt he had mortally wounded Field and regretted purchasing the business:

I had the feeling that I was competing with my own people, the people I had been brought up amongst and with whom I had spent so many happy and gloriously exciting years. I tried to beat down this feeling in my heart. I argued to myself that all was fair in love and business. That I had as much title to a store of my own as Marshall Field or any other of the big storekeepers all over the country. All to no purpose. My unhappiness increased. I sold Schlesinger and Mayer's ninety days after I bought it.

Harry eventually sold his business to Carson Pirie Scott, another major Chicago retailer, and traveled extensively during the following two years. He visited London twice and contemplated moving to England.

He also reportedly considered a deal with the backing of J. P. Morgan in which he proposed to purchase Marshall Field and Company outright. The deal was in negotiations until Marshall Field's untimely death from pneumonia in 1906. Harry acknowledged after Field's death that it would have been easy to settle into a comfortable lifestyle at Harrose Hall growing wild orchids, yet his desire to set up shop urged him forward and across the Atlantic.

EPILOGUE

The Selfridges store on Oxford Street in London is the second largest store in the

United Kingdom, after Harrods. It has changed hands several times. In 1951, it became part of the Lewis's chain of stores, and in 1965 Lewis's and Selfridges were purchased by the Sears Group. In 2003, the flagship London store and several others were sold by the Sears Group to Canadian billionaire W. Galen Weston, a supermarket retailer in Canada.

Harry Gordon Selfridge's dream store continues to draw customers on Oxford Street. **P**

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Author

Stephanie D. Smith received her Ph.D. in library and information science from Dominican University in River Forest, Illinois, and is currently a Ph.D. student in history at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

NOTE ON SOURCES

My special thanks go to Douglas Bicknese and Glenn Longacre at the National Archives at Chicago for their time and assistance in locating documents related to Selfridge in Chicago. Thanks also to Diane Dimkoff at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., for her help in obtaining much of Robert O. Selfridge's military records.

Selfridge's passport records are reproduced in *Passport Applications, January 2, 1906–March 31, 1925* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M1490), General Records of the Department of State, Record Group (RG) 59. Federal census records (1860–1900) are reproduced on National Archives microfilm (M653, M593, T9, T623); these and the Illinois marriage record were consulted via Ancestry.com.

Robert O. Selfridge's compiled military service record from his service in the Third Michigan Cavalry Regiment is in *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Michigan*, Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served During the Civil War, RG 94, in the National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

Other records relating to his service are found in *Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), 1861–1870* (M619, rolls 138 and 258), RG 94; *Letters Received by the Commission Branch of the Adjutant General's Office, 1863–1870* (M1064), RG 94; *Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Michigan* (M545, roll 37), RG 94; and *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Civilians* (M345 roll 51), RG 109. The microfilmed records are also available on Fold3.com.

All documents related to the 1895 Illinois court case *In the Matter of Application of Marshall Field and Company*, case number 23767, are in Records of District Courts of the United States, RG 21, National Archives at Chicago.

The Saturday Evening Post's 1935 four-part series "Selling Selfridge" was helpful as were various archived articles about the family from the *Chicago Tribune* and the Wisconsin Historical Museum. The Chicago History Museum provided additional archival research on Selfridge and his history with Marshall Field.

The Presidential Libraires

By Jessie Kratz
Historian of the National Archives



Franklin D. Roosevelt speaks at his presidential library dedication in 1941.



The George W. Bush Library in Dallas, Texas, is the newest library.

As the National Archives prepares to add its 14th presidential library, we can point with pride to 13 libraries that preserve and make available the Presidents' work and the history of their times.

President Barack Obama's library in Chicago will follow the George W. Bush Library in Dallas, but our Presidential libraries haven't always grown in the same order that the Presidents served in the Oval Office.

Before Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency there was no law, or even guidance, governing presidential records. Presidents simply took their papers with them. Some were kept; others were destroyed. In 1938 Roosevelt proposed a presidential library, built with private funds, with all the records of his administration in one place, and run by the National Archives. Congress approved FDR's plan, and his library opened in 1941.

All of FDR's successors, as well as his predecessor, did similarly, but not in chronological order. Roosevelt's successor, Harry S. Truman, intended to follow suit, but there was no law in place for the transfer of the libraries to the U.S. Government—the 1939 legislation pertained only to FDR. As Truman moved ahead, the 1955 Presidential Libraries Act, which allowed presidential libraries, papers, and memorabilia to be transferred to the federal government, made its way through Congress.

Both the Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower libraries came in under the act's provisions in 1957 and 1962 respectively. However, the fourth presidential library was not for Eisenhower's successor, John F. Kennedy, but for Herbert Hoover—FDR's predecessor. Hoover opened his library in 1962 at his birthplace in West Branch, Iowa.

In Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, the debate over the location of the Kennedy Library went on for years. Meanwhile, Lyndon Johnson opened his library at the University of Texas in Austin in 1971.

Then Watergate happened. Because the Presidential Libraries Act did not require a President to donate his papers, there was nothing stopping him from *not* doing so. After Richard Nixon resigned, he attempted to destroy some of his materials, most notably his extensive audio recordings. To prevent this, Congress passed legislation seizing Nixon's materials and mandating that the National Archives process them for public access.

Congress then crafted legislation to ensure that future presidential papers were properly preserved. The 1978 Presidential Records Act made presidential papers government property that must be transferred to the National Archives at the end of the administration.

In 1979, the Kennedy Library opened, not near the Harvard campus as Kennedy had wished, but in South Boston. The next few libraries were opened in order: Gerald Ford in 1981, Jimmy Carter in 1986, Ronald Reagan in 1991, George H.W. Bush in 1997, and Bill Clinton in 2004.

Then in 2007, the private Nixon Foundation agreed to transfer to the U.S. Government the private Nixon Library it had opened in 1990 in Yorba Linda, California. Now, all the Nixon papers that had been housed at College Park, Maryland, have been transferred to this facility.

When the Obama Library opens in a few years, the presidential libraries will house a continuous record of the American presidency and life in America from 1929 to 2017.

All of the presidential libraries, their addresses, and web addresses are listed on the inside back cover of this magazine.



DISCOVERING YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

HOW TO USE NATIONAL ARCHIVES RECORDS
TO FIND OUT MORE ABOUT WHERE YOU LIVE

By M. MARIE MAXWELL



Many people use the United States census to discover their family roots, but these same tools can be used to discover a neighborhood's background.

Just as you may be intrigued to discover that your great-grandfather was a miner, you may get that same thrill of discovery to find out that your house, your street, and maybe your block was home to immigrant factory workers. You share blood with your ancestors; you share a place with your neighbors from the past.

There is nothing out of the ordinary about the Truxton Circle neighborhood in Washington, D.C. As far as I know, no famous people lived there. It houses no embassies, nor has it been the location of any notable historical event. It is special only because I live there and wondered what kind of neighborhood this was and who lived here.

To answer these questions, I went to the census.

Census records, with their questions about an individual's race, occupation, parents' place of birth, and other details, are a treasure trove of information for genealogists, who use them to find family relations. But these details, when combined with their neighbors' particulars, can provide an image of a neighborhood, complete with class and racial composition. The census is the best source for this research since it attempts to capture all residents regardless of race, gender, occupation, or lack thereof.

Opposite: A view of the 1600 block of 4th Street in the Truxton Circle neighborhood, ca. 1949. Census records for the area's early years can provide a good basic picture of its racial, ethnic, and class makeup. Background: Truxton Circle is in the northeastern boundaries of Shaw, in the upper right of this map.

Shaw is a very large neighborhood in Washington, D.C. Even though the history of the neighborhood is as old as the capital city itself, the borders of Shaw are a 1960s construct. The National Capital Planning Commission defined Shaw as the area serviced by the Shaw Junior High School and those borders stretched to North Capitol Street.

In 1967 the *Washington Post* published a map showing the borders of Shaw as 14th, Florida, North Capitol, and M Streets, NW. Within these borders are several subsections such as Logan Circle, U Street, Blagden Alley, parts of Mount Vernon Square, and Truxton Circle.

Truxton Circle, as the modern city defines it, sits within the northeastern boundaries of Shaw, between three major roads. On the north is Florida Avenue, known in the 1800s as Boundary Street. Boundary Street separates Old City, where Truxton Circle lies, from the various “suburban” District neighborhoods such as Eckington and LeDroit Park, which began to appear around the late 19th century. For this study, the eastern border is North Capitol Street, which separates Northwest Washington from Northeast. The Truxton Circle traffic circle sat at the intersection of Boundary and North Capitol.

The Truxton Circle area proved to be a suitable section to investigate for two reasons. First, there is an absence of literature regarding this portion of Shaw. Second, Truxton Circle blossomed from more than 100 households in 1880 to more than several thousand households in 1940, creating a statistically solid but manageable number of residences.

COLLECTING THE DATA FROM CENSUS ROLLS

The project draws heavily from the United States census, in particular the 1880, or 10th census. The area of Truxton Circle falls within the 21st and 29th enumeration districts. For every Truxton Circle address falling within the search area, I collected every bit of data from the census rolls. I arranged each address by city square and mapped data regarding the household head and spouse’s race.

Mapping proved difficult as real estate and fire maps do not always have house addresses. The 1887 Hopkins real estate maps were the main source because they outline houses, illustrating what was brick, wood, or a shed, and indicate major institutions such as schools, churches, and hospitals. Like regular city maps they show street names, street widths, major sewer lines, relative widths of alleys, square numbers, lot numbers, and sometimes

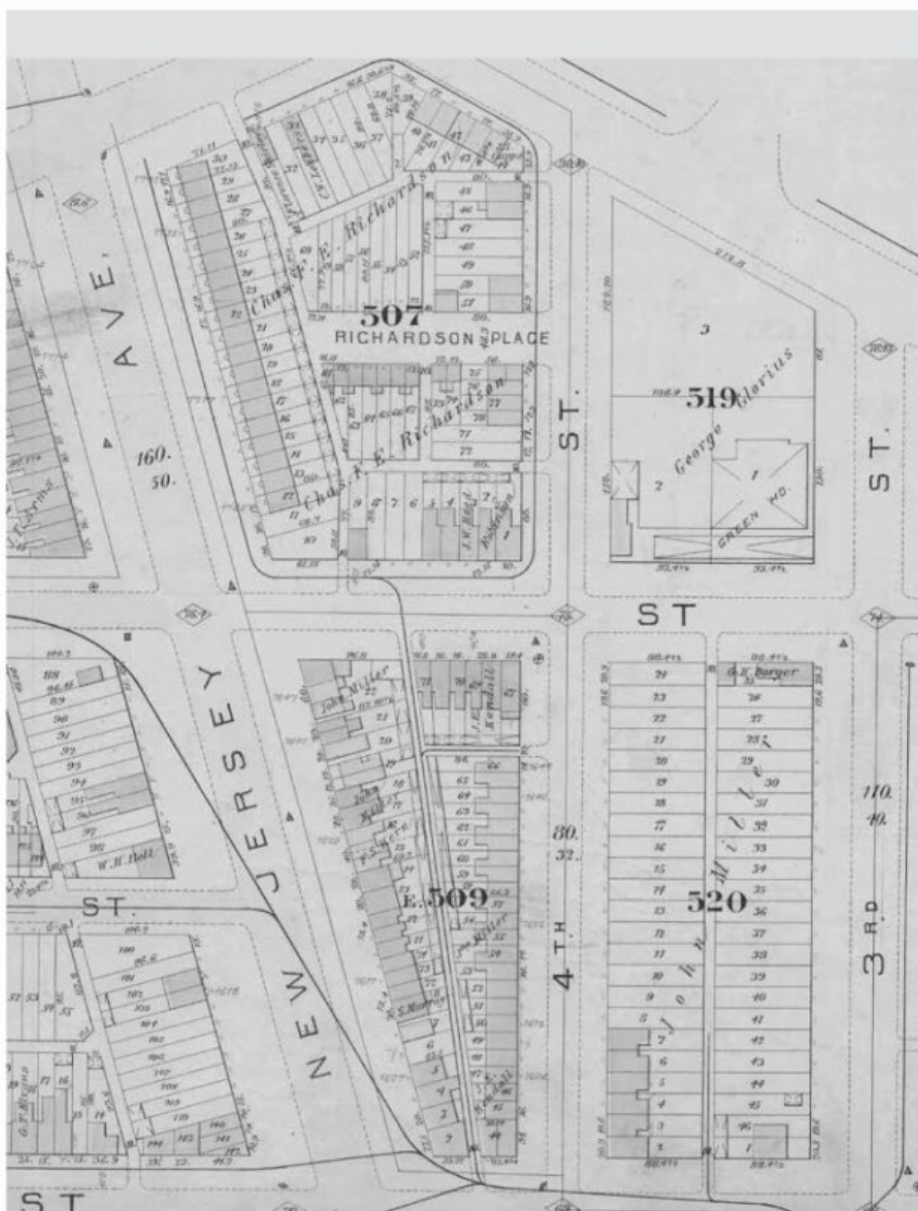
house numbers. For tax and real estate purposes in the District of Columbia, property is identified by square or plat and lot number, not by address.

In addition to using maps, walking around the neighborhood was useful. Several of the buildings that existed at the time of the 1880 census still stand, and it helped to venture outside and see if the building was a small two-story Federal or a sizeable three-story Victorian. There is no guarantee, however, that the building now standing at an address is the same one from 1880. Regardless, a visual inspection reveals if the property had a basement apartment, which may or may not have existed at the time of the 1880 census.

TRUXTON CIRCLE IN BLACK AND WHITE

What was the character of the neighborhood?

This can be answered by looking at those who lived in it and their relationship to each other. Was Truxton Circle a historically black neighborhood, like it was in



The florist George Glorius is recorded in the 1880 U.S. Census (below) along with his wife and five children. His house, greenhouse, and sheds are the only structures shown on square 519 of this 1887 map (opposite), due to the nature of his work.

five households, resided at 78 O Street. If the unit block of O Street structures seen in the 1887 map is any guide to the size of the house, 78 O Street appears to have been a very small structure. Because later fire maps from the early 20th century do not show any structures where 78 O sits, the current residence does not give any inkling of the size of the 19th-century building.

Because it is hard to see a pattern when there are only a few occupied residences on a street, I looked at blocks with streets that had five or more addresses on one side. The even-numbered unit block of O, where the crowded 78 O Street sat, and the 1400 block of First Street are two of the streets with African Americans on one side. The odd-numbered 1700 block of New Jersey, even-numbered 1400 block of North Capitol, odd-numbered 1400 block, and 1600 block of Third street contained a number of homes, which were all occupied by white residents.

The other occupied blocks or streets had a mix of black and white households, with the races grouped in clumps. Various patterns of clustering occurred with one race on one street or one end of the street, or in a grouping of households. In other instances, there was a mix of one race living in between or near a larger cluster of another race.

Name of Person		Home Address	Position held by order of Emancipation	The Name of each Person whose place of abode on 1st day of June, 1861, was in this family	Color—White, W., Black, B., Mulatto, M., Chinese, C., Indian, I.	Sex—Male, M., Female, F.	Age of last birthday prior to June 1, 1861. If under 1 year, give month in fraction, thus 1/2	If born within the Census year, give the month	Relationship of each person to the head of this family—whether wife, son, daughter, servant, boarder, or other	Married during Census year	Profession, Occupation or Trade of each person, male or female	Number of months this person has been unemployed during the census year	To the person for the day of the Emancipation's visit sick or temporarily disabled, or so far he is unable to attend to ordinary business or duties? If so, what is the estimate of disability?	Blind, /	Deaf and dumb, /	Idiot, /	Insane, /	Mentally Crapuled, Deafblind, or otherwise disabled	Mutual school within the Census year, /	Quarantined, /	Quarantined, /	Place of Birth of this person, naming State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth of the Father of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth of the Mother of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
40	100	110	Burles Ottilia	W	F	1			Daughter	/												D. C.	Va	D. C.	
41	101	111	Wood Wm H.	W	M	40				/												D. C.	Va	Va	
			— Kate	W	F	31			Wife	/												D. C.	Prussia	Prussia	
42			— Mary E	W	F	13			Daughter	/												D. C.	D. C.	D. C.	
43	102	120	Coleman Wm	W	M	32				/												England	England	England	
			— Mary	W	F	44			Wife	/												New Cassel	N. Cassel	N. Cassel	
44			Snider Maggie	W	F	15			Step Daughter	/												D. C.	N. Cassel	N. Cassel	
			— Frank	W	M	14			Step Son	/												D. C.	N. Cassel	N. Cassel	
45			Smith Elizabeth	W	F	31			Servant	/												New Cassel	N. Cassel	N. Cassel	
			— Frank	W	M	9			Servant	/												D. C.	Saxony	N. Cassel	
46	103	121	Herius George	W	M	56				/												Prussia	Prussia	Prussia	
			— Mary C	W	F	54			Wife	/												Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria	
47			— Andrew	W	M	24			Son	/												D. C.	Prussia	Bavaria	
48			— George	W	M	22			Son	/												D. C.	Prussia	Bavaria	
49			— Mary C	W	F	25			Daughter	/												D. C.	Prussia	Bavaria	
50			— Barbara	W	F	20			Daughter	/												D. C.	Prussia	Bavaria	

19	1400	Radenganger	Chas	# 27	Head	1	Retail grocer	1	Austria	Hungary	Hungary
20	1402	Catharine	# 35	Wife	1	1	Keppinhouse	1	Austria	Austria	Austria
21	1402	John	# 11	Son	1	1	At School	1	Austria	Austria	Austria
22	1406	Julia	# 24	Daughter	1	1		1	Austria	Austria	Austria
23	1412	Fredk	# 15	Son	1	1		1	Austria	Austria	Austria
24	1416	Sullivan	Morris	# 35	Head	1	Butcher	1	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
25	1422	Bridget	# 30	Wife	1	1	Keppinhouse	1	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
26	1424	John	# 11	Son	1	1	At School	1	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
27	1426	John	# 7	Daughter	1	1		1	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
28	1428	John	# 4	Son	1	1		1	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
29	1428	John	# 1	Son	1	1		1	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
30	1428	Keller	Henry	# 45	Head	1	Blacksmith	1	Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
31	1428	Julia	# 14	Wife	1	1	Keppinhouse	1	Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
32	1428	August	# 14	Daughter	1	1	At Home	1	Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
33	1428	Chas	# 17	Son	1	1	Chin Store	1	Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
34	1428	George	# 15	Son	1	1	At School	1	Hanover	Hanover	Hanover
35	1428	Hina	# 13	Daughter	1	1	At School	1	Hanover	Hanover	Hanover

RESIDENTS OF THE 1400 BLOCK OF NORTH CAPITOL STREET (SQUARE 616)

Address	Surname	Head/ Spouse's background	Head's occupation
1400	Leimbach	German/German	Retail grocer
1402	Louhardt	German American/Swiss American	Butcher
1402	Gleason	Irish/Irish American	Stone cutter
1406	Degan	German/German	Wheelwright
1412	Tensing	Swiss/German American	Carpenter
1414	Radenganger	Austrian/Austrian	Retail grocer
1416	Sullivan	Irish/Irish	Laborer (unemployed)
1422	Keller	German/German	Blacksmith
1424	Geyer	German/Native white	Tailor
1426	Monder	German/German	Baker
1428	Mohler	Native white/German	Retail grocer

Compiled from the United States Census, *Tenth Census 1880*.

German and Irish Americans were clustered on the 1400 block of North Capitol Street, on Square 616. The 1880 census shows, for example, that Irishman Morris Sullivan, at house number 1416, was a laborer born in Ireland.

For example, the row of six houses from 1408 to 1418 Third Street held African Americans; at the end of the row lived a white family in 1420. Across the alley were two more white-occupied houses.

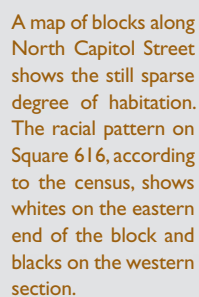
Passing two vacant lots, at the end of O Street, were a black family at 1430 and Beulah Baptist Church, which was a black church. Among white householders, there were further breakdowns by nationalities, with concentrations of Germans and German Americans and Irish and Irish Americans.

IMMIGRANT FAMILIES AND ETHNIC DIVIDES

Truxton Circle in 1880 was ethnically diverse. Besides having a population of black and white residents, the white residents included a number of immigrant and first-generation Americans. (This project focused on heads of the household and their spouses' nativity and parentage.).

Sixty-two households in Truxton Circle had German or German-American heads or spouses. Several Germanic households clustered around the corners of O, North Capitol, and P Streets, NW, on Square 616. Moving north on Square 615 to North Capitol Street, we find three other German households but not a large or concentrated cluster; the row had one Irish spouse and two native white households. On the eastern side of Square 616 were 20 German or German-American households with a strong presence on the 1400 block of North Capitol Street.

Clustering near the corner on the unit block of P Street were the Stroups, the Plowmans, the Peters, the Haufmans, the Stefels, and the Steidets. Among their ranks were a laborer, a journeyman baker, a huckster (peddler), retail grocer, a tailor, and a journeyman painter. The houses from 12 to 22 P Street were a solid block of German immigrants where both spouses were German. At 24 P Street lived a native white family that provided a pause in this line of Germans, which continued on to 26 and 28 P Street.



The racial pattern on Square 616 shows whites on the eastern end of the block and blacks on the western

From the southern tip of Square 509E at 1601 New Jersey Avenue to nearly the northern end at 1639 lived a long string of white families. Among the 22 white

households were eight white families or heads born in the United States, and five German-headed households and two Irish-headed households wherein both the head and spouse (if present) were immigrants.

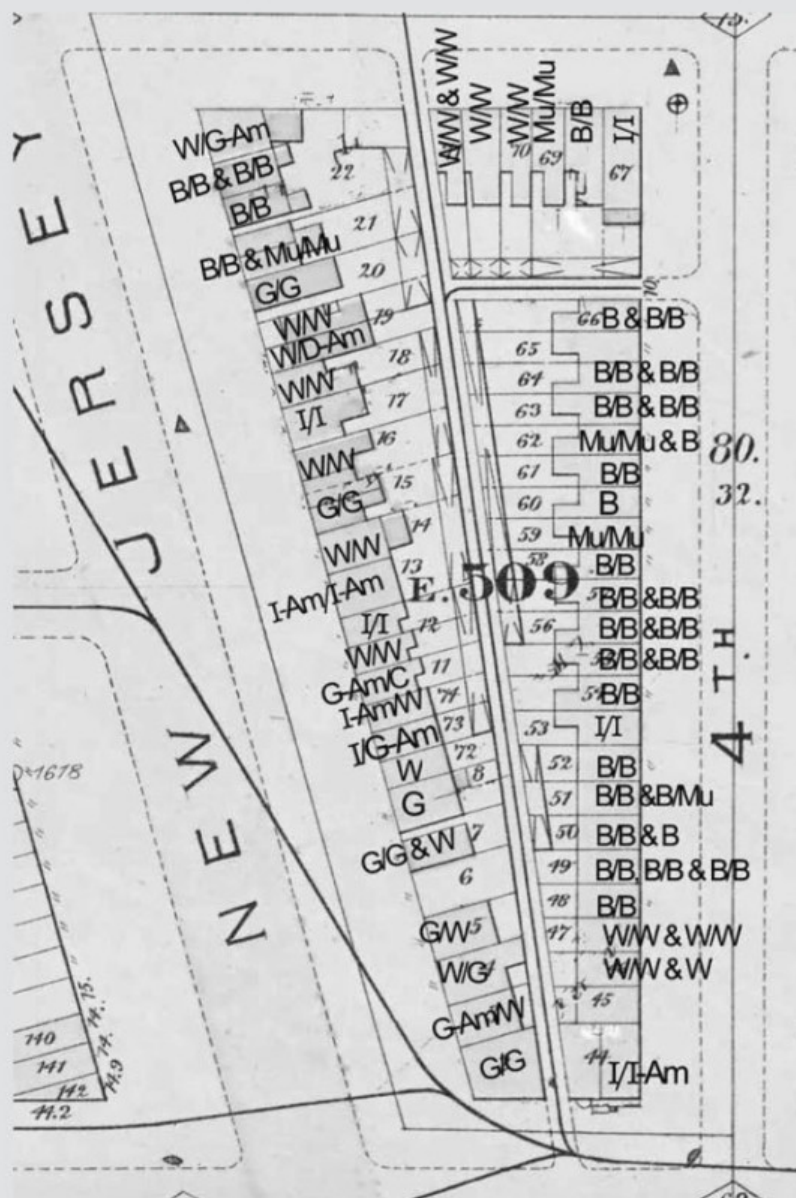
The households with German and Irish backgrounds were fairly intermixed with each other and native white families. Unlike their neighbors to the north on the 1700 block of New Jersey Avenue, there wasn't a single clerk among the heads of these households. They were a mix of tradesmen, policemen, and laborers. David Donigan, an Irish American at 1623 New Jersey, and August Schultz, a German American at 1617, were listed as police officers. There were six carpenters, most of them native whites.

At the northern end of the street lived six African American families residing at three addresses from 1641 to 1647 New Jersey Avenue. George Williams, a 50-year-old laborer from Alabama, lived at 1641 with his 40-year-old wife, Catherine, from Virginia. Next door to their south was August Plitt, a baker from Germany, his wife, and their seven children.

The Williamses appear to have shared the house with laborer Henry Johnson's wife and their three-year-old son, all from Virginia. Also doubling up at 1645 lived laborer Buckman Powell's wife and two children and another family listed as his boarders. At 1647 New Jersey Avenue were two other black families sharing one house. All the men over 18 years old in this group were listed as laborers. The only other occupation was that of servant, held by 1647 New Jersey Avenue resident William Weddington's teenage son. Servant and laborer are two very common jobs for African Americans in this study.

Around the corner on R Street, Square 509E's northern street, was a small block of black and white residents. On the corner of New Jersey and R at 418 R Street lived the American-born three-person household of D.C. retail grocer William Wood. At 410 lived nine people in two households, both headed by native white carpenters. In the next two houses, 408 and 406, resided native white families, followed by two African American households. Mulatto laborer Archibald Moulton lived at 404 with his wife and three female boarders.

The building at 402 R lists three households, but it appears that Henry Hughs, a black laborer, and his wife took in tenants: John Bulter and his wife and his stepdaughter as well as Eliza Downey, a laundress. On the corner of Fourth and R, at 400 R Street, grocer Charles



KEY

/ = married couple

& = other households at same address

W = White, American born to American parents

B = Black, African American

Mu = Mulatto, African American

C = Canadian

D-Am = Danish American

G = German

G-Am = German American

I = Irish

I-Am = Irish American

Block 509E showing racial and ethnic makeup.
(Formatted by author)

Pearson, an Irish immigrant, lived with his wife, also from Ireland, and their four children.

Toward the rear of the Pearson house and across the alley was Truxton Circle's largest African American cluster, on the even-numbered side of the 1600 block of Fourth Street. Like their counterparts on the northern end of New Jersey Avenue, there were plenty of families doubling up. Of the 17 black addresses on Fourth Street, 11 of them had two or more households living under one roof. At 1610 and 1632 Fourth Street the census lists three households. Both of these addresses housed nine people each, and if the current structures at these addresses have remained unchanged for the last 125 years, the people at 1610 may have lived more comfortably as that house has a basement apartment. Along this side of Fourth Street, houses were small two-story Federals, with two bedrooms on the top floor and about 1,000 square feet of living space if no basement was present. Of 13 houses whose modern equivalents do not have basements, 9 housed 8 or more people, with the highest number (13) residing at 1640 Fourth Street.

Also like the New Jersey Avenue African Americans, many of the male heads of households were listed as laborers. There were a few exceptions. Jarrett Wallace at 1614 Fourth Street, Charles Davis of 1626, and Farley Thornton of 1636 were shoemakers. William Wheeler at 1624 was a carpenter, and Robert Beans of 1638 was a huckster. There also a few female-headed households and some single tenants. A common occupation of working women on Fourth Street was laundress or servant, which is a pattern throughout the neighborhood. Most women, black and white, in the 1880 census were listed as "keeping house." Sometimes daughters and, rarely, wives would hold jobs. At 1614, laundress Rachel Tontee and her two sisters, listed as servants, lived together as tenants. At 1622 Fourth Street, 55-year-old widow Elise Carrol was keeping house while her eldest daughter, also a widow, and Carrol's younger single daughters worked as servants. In that same house lived laundress Mary Hull, another widow, and her adult son, a laborer, and her school-aged

daughter. Next door, laborer William Todd's wife worked as a laundress. Widow Francis Washington, Farley Thornton's tenant at 1636, was a laundress. If Elizabeth Clark-Lewis's book *Living In, Living Out* on African American domestic life during the great migration holds true for 1880 domestics, laundress was a far better position than that of servant. Laundresses were more independent and had greater control over which jobs they took. Laundress was also a step above a "washerwoman" who did the laundry in her home to supplement her income. The laundress provided her services "on site" and had the respect of her employers and other domestics.

The 1600 block of Fourth Street would be complete stretches of black households were it not for three white households on the southern tip and one Irish household near the middle. Sandwiched between 12 African American addresses to the north and five black addresses to the south was 1618 Fourth Street, where police officer Thomas Lawlor and his wife, both from Ireland, lived with their two D.C.-born children. Farther down the street at 1606 were the Tarltons and the Adamses, and at 1604 were the Sampsons and nurse French, all native white families. At the very end of the block, breaking the mold of typical female jobs, was the Irish immigrant and widow Mary Barry, a retail grocer and head of her household. She lived on the corner of Fourth and R with her six D.C.-born children, ages ranging from 4 to 16, and her Virginia-born sister Ellen Nelligan, who stayed at home.

A small group of black households were book-ended by several white families on the northern end of Square 509E and one large group on Fourth Street. Whites had the southern tip of the square and most of New Jersey Avenue, and small groups of blacks lived on the northern end. On New Jersey Avenue the dividing line of black and white lay between 1606 and 1608. On Fourth Street it is almost all black from 1608 to 1644 with the exception of 1618.

Square 553 was a block with two patterns of segregation. The 1400 block of Third Street had no black families among its 12 households. Of those, eight were solely white natives. At 1417 Third Street a German couple and their seven



To learn more about

- Using the U.S. census records held by the National Archives, go to www.archives.gov/research/census/.
- The U.S. census from our archive of Genealogy Notes columns, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/genealogy-notes.html#census.
- Using census records in researching your family's history, go to www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2014/winter/migration.pdf.

children shared a house with Thomas Bryons, an Irish painter, who was listed as separate household. The only other immigrants on the street were 1401's Catherine Ginter from Ireland and 1407's Anna Stein of Germany, both married to native whites. Around the corner on P Street, in the middle of the block was a collection of seven white households. They were a mix of German Americans, Irish immigrants, and native whites. They and the other Third Street male breadwinners were skilled laborers and tradesmen with one government clerk among them. The 1400 block of First and the 100 to 200 block of O were primarily black. Clusters of African-American households sandwiched an Irish/Irish-American household on the corner of First and O. The male household heads in this African-American cluster were laborers with a few skilled tradesmen among them.

Noticeably, the Irish are everywhere in Truxton Circle. Irish immigrants appear on predominately black streets, white streets, and among German clusters. A small Irish cluster on Square 554 on the 200 block of O Street consisted of five immigrant households, with a native white and a British household between them. Four black households also lived on one end of that block of O Street. The African American Curtis family in 216 O lived next door to the widow Johanna Hack in 218, an Irish immigrant and her family. Mrs. Hack supported her three children as a washerwoman. Irishman John Sullivan, at 220, like several of his African-American neighbors, worked as a laborer. Breaking the row of Irish in 222 was a young waiter from a white Virginia family, his English wife, and their two children. From 224 to 228 were other Irish-born residents: a widow, a laborer, his wife, and their seven American children, and another laborer, his wife, their two kids and his mother.



The tools genealogists use to uncover clues about their ancestors also revealed evidence of the types of people who lived in my neighborhood. I have learned something about the ordinary men and women who shared the place I call home. This snapshot of Truxton Circle in 1880 shows an area that as a whole was racially mixed. The neighborhood had a blue-collar, working-class character with more domestic servants, laborers, and tradesmen than clerks or other professionals. In total, the Truxton Circle neighborhood was 57 percent white and 43 percent black. (The District of Columbia as a whole was about 67 percent white and 33 percent black

in 1880.) Native-born whites, immigrants, and blacks in this area were neighbors.

The census and old real estate or fire maps can help you discover your neighborhood. Start small with your street or block and expand from there. If your neighborhood existed before 1940, there is an available census for you. Several online genealogical tools can help you find the enumeration district for your area. The census from 1880 onwards lists addresses, and neighbors will be listed on the same or adjoining pages.

Creative exploration of sources normally used for genealogy, especially census schedules, can teach us much about past communities and the racial and economic networks in which our ancestors lived. Researchers can add information about individuals and families by exploring other federal records such as immigration, naturalization, military service, and court records. In the end, we can gain a better picture of the history of the neighborhoods in which we live and find a connection with our neighbors from the past. **P**



Author

M. Marie Maxwell is an archives specialist in NARA's Research Services Division, Textual Processing, in Washington, D.C. She has shared her knowledge of neighborhood history to community groups, at conferences, and on the Web. She received her M.A. in history from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and her M.L.S. with a specialty in archives from the University of Maryland-College Park.

NOTE ON SOURCES

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Map, Washington, DC, North, Vol. 20, Plate 15, Records of the Government of the District of Columbia, RG 351, National Archives at College Park, MD (NACP).

Map, City of Washington, 859, 1888, Records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, RG 23, NACP.

YOUR FAMILY ARCHIVES

By Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler

Preserving FAMILY PHOTOS

Fingerprints can cause permanent damage to photographs. To avoid this, wear gloves or place photos in preservation-quality clear plastic sleeves.

From school pictures to photographs of ancestors, almost everyone has treasured family photos that, in the face of natural or other disasters, are among the items people most want to save.

In early days, having a photographic likeness taken was a special event for which people dressed in their best clothing. Modern pictures record everything from beloved pets and birthday parties to graduations.

Photographs in family collections can range from daguerreotypes and tintypes to modern digital prints and electronic files. The life expectancy of photographs varies, depending on their type and the ways in which they have been processed, stored, and handled.

Some photographs are unstable because of the materials used to produce them. For example, the dyes (cyan, magenta, and yellow) in color photographs can fade, shift, or discolor. Since cyan fades more quickly than the other dyes, old images can often appear red. Also, photographs that were not thoroughly washed during chemical processing can have yellow or brownish stains.

While digital images are not susceptible to fading or staining, they are susceptible to loss when problems with computers and hard drives make files inaccessible. Preserving digital images is totally dependent on having secure systems to manage and retain files.

Regardless of the age or condition of family photographs, your goal is to do no harm and to help ensure preservation for future generations. Tips for preserving photographs are much the same as those for preserving paper documents:

Storage: Store photographs in cool, dry areas. Damp conditions can encourage the growth of mold, attract insects, and cause photographs to curl or to stick together. Avoid hot attics or damp basements or garages. Hot storage conditions can speed deterioration, resulting in staining, discoloration, and embrittlement.

Handling: Do not touch the surfaces of prints; fingerprints can cause permanent stains on all types of photographs. Wear cotton or nitrile

gloves! To avoid tears and breaks, handle all photographs and photo mounts gently with two hands, or lift and support them in a folder or on a piece of mat board. Make sure your hands are clean (lotions can leave stains), and avoid food and drink around the photos. Do not force rolled photographs open, which could cause them to crack. Do not mend photographs with any kind of glue or tape. Do not fold, cut, or trim original photographs or remove them from their mounts. If handling the photograph seems to be causing damage, stop and seek help.

Housing: Small groups of photographs of the same size and type—such as black-and-white prints or color photographs—can be kept together in small groups within folders or envelopes within boxes. Use preservation-quality folders and boxes that are large enough to fully enclose and support the photographs. Avoid using acidic cardboard shoe boxes! Photographs in poor condition or that have special value can be individually stored in stable plastic sleeves made from preservation-quality polyester or polyethylene. Large photographs, such as panoramas, should be stored flat if possible.

Captioning: Avoid ink and markers around photographs. You can lightly write identifying information on the backs of some paper prints. Not all paper used for photos will accept pencil. In that case, write captions on the photo enclosures.

Display and Sharing: Photographs—especially color and digital prints—can fade if exposed to light for long periods. All types of light will cause damage, though sunlight and fluorescent light are the quickest to cause changes. To avoid light damage, store photographs in the dark, and limit long-term display of the originals. Print a digital scan for display purposes, and use a scanner with a glass platen that is larger than your items. Do not use auto feed.

Find more information on this topic at www.archives.gov/preservation.

For help finding a photograph conservator, see www.conservation-us.org/membership/find-a-conservator#.

Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler is chief of the National Archives Conservation Laboratory.

REAGAN: THE LIFE

H.W. Brands Recounts How the 40th President Evolved

BY KEITH DONOHUE



H.W. Brands

With *Reagan: The Life*, critically acclaimed biographer H. W. Brands completes his project of telling the story of America through six biographies. Following accounts of Benjamin Franklin, Andrew Jackson, Ulysses Grant, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Roosevelt, *Reagan: The Life* takes us behind the scenes of one of the most iconic figures of modern American life.

From his childhood through his career in movies and television to his rise as a political figure in the early 1960s, Ronald Reagan's training for the presidency followed an unfamiliar path. Once he moved into politics—first as governor of California and later as President for two terms—Reagan became known as a great communicator and a rare conservative who combined congeniality with conviction.

During his two terms in office, he successfully fought for the demise of communism while ushering in a new era in American government. Using archival resources not available to previous biographers and drawing on dozens of interviews with surviving members of Reagan's administration, Brands has crafted a new and fascinating narrative of the 40th President of the United States.

H. W. Brands holds the Jack S. Blanton Sr. Chair in History at the University of Texas in Austin. A *New York Times* bestselling author, he was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize in biography for both *The First American* and *Traitor to His Class*. He lectures frequently on historical and current events and can be seen and heard on national and international television and radio. For the past three years he has been writing a history of the United States in haiku form and publishing it on Twitter.

Your biography on Reagan is the final in a series of biographies on the history of the United States. What drew you to Reagan as the key figure of the latter half of the 20th century?

Each of my biographies focuses on an individual who in some important way embodied a central theme of his generation in American history. Reagan led the conservative turn in American politics that ended the age of FDR (the subject of the previous volume) and inaugurated what might best be called the age of Reagan. Characterized by skepticism of government, this is the age we are living in still.

From his childhood through his days as an actor and corporate spokesman, Reagan developed a public persona with charm and charisma. How does that persona compare with the private man?

Reagan's childhood was filled with anxiety induced by the unreliability of his alcoholic father, which caused him to distrust emotional relationships. Reagan learned at an early age, when his mother put him on stage in church skits and plays, that the applause of audiences assuaged his anxieties. For the rest of his life he sought out audiences: in theatrical productions in college, in radio afterward,

then film and television, and finally politics. He learned how to project friendliness, how to tell a joke and a good story. He seemed to be charming and approachable. Yet the emotional reserve of his youth remained, and he never formed close friendships, except with Nancy, his wife. Even his children felt excluded.

You make some strong comparisons between FDR and Ronald Reagan, including a passage describing Reagan's memories of FDR's Fireside Chats. What did they share in common? What was the secret of their popularity?

Reagan listened to FDR's Fireside Chats in the 1930s, long before he developed political ambitions. But with millions of other Americans he felt the power of connection FDR established with ordinary people during that discouraging time—the power that underpinned FDR's ability to refashion American politics in the New Deal. When Reagan went into politics himself, he recapitulated Roosevelt's performance, on the new medium of television. He conveyed a vision of hope, the belief that America's best days were ahead. After the turbulent 1960s and 1970s, it was a vision Americans responded to, and it provided the basis for the Reagan revolution in American politics.

There's a great supporting cast to the story of *Reagan: The Life*, everyone from his wife Nancy to his loyal advisers as both governor of California and as President. As you learned more about them through the primary source materials, did anyone turn around any preconceptions you may have had?

Nancy Reagan's memoir, *My Turn*, is one of the most candid and revealing memoirs by an American public figure in the last 50 years. In it she explains her relationship with "Ronnie," as she always called him, how she knew him better than anyone else but still had to admit that there were times when the curtain of emotional reserve came down and even she didn't know what he was thinking. She tells her side of her disputes with people she thought threatened Reagan in one way or another. She doesn't disguise that she didn't like Raisa Gorbachev at all.

One thing that struck me in the interviews I did with nearly all the surviving senior members of Reagan's administration was the uniform respect and admiration they had for Reagan. In some other administrations I've encountered a sometimes unspoken intimation that the President couldn't have done what he did without my sage advice, but I didn't hear that at all with the Reagan people.

You open the book with a wonderful description of "The Speech," Reagan's remarks during the 1964 Goldwater campaign, and you've said that he stuck to the message of that speech over the next 25 years. What were his goals, and how successful was he in achieving them?

Reagan had two goals in political life: to shrink government at home and to defeat communism abroad. He accomplished all of the latter (with essential help from Mikhail Gorbachev and George H.W. Bush). He accomplished half of the former, for while he succeeded in cutting taxes, he failed to cut government spending. For this failure he blamed Tip O'Neill and the Democrats, but honesty should have compelled him to admit that by accepting tax cuts without the precondition of spending cuts,

he opened the door to the structural deficits the country has faced ever since the Reagan years.

What about the great contemporaries on the world stage, particularly Gorbachev and Thatcher? Was there anything from Reagan's private diaries that gave you insights into his place on the international geopolitical sphere?

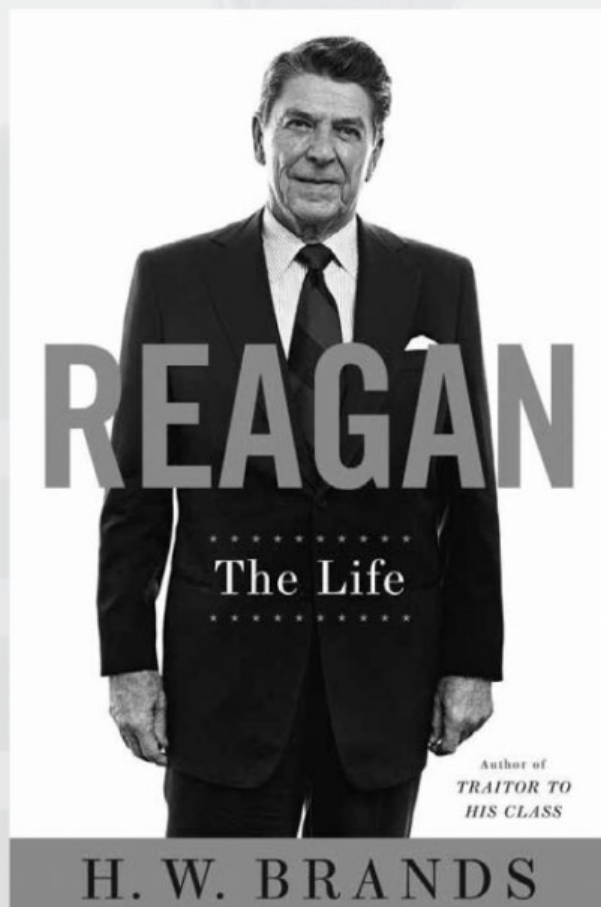
Most revealing of Reagan's relationship with Gorbachev were thorough transcripts of their meetings, most notably at Reykjavik in 1986. There Reagan went toe-to-toe with Gorbachev for 36 hours, showing that he was anything but the empty-headed actor his critics claimed him to be. Gorbachev carried that stereotype into his first meeting with Reagan but ended up considering Reagan a most worthy adversary—indeed one who got more out of Gorbachev than Gorbachev got out of him.

Reagan's relationship with Thatcher unfolds in the diaries and shows that he considered her a kindred spirit philosophically though a very different personality. Thatcher was indubitably the Iron Lady; Reagan seemed a softie by comparison, one who couldn't even fire people who had ceased

to serve him well. During the Falklands war, Thatcher shamed Reagan into dropping his initial neutrality between Britain and Argentina and siding with the British.

The range of source material for this book is remarkable. What treasures did you uncover in the Reagan Presidential Library run by the National Archives? What surprised you the most?

The materials at the Reagan Library were crucial. Many documents remain unavailable to researchers, but the documents I found most valuable were minutes of top-secret meetings of the National Security Council and other administration groups. In conjunction with Reagan's diary, these minutes allowed me to see Reagan's mind at work. He wasn't equally interested in everything, but in those areas on which he focused, he was well informed, fully engaged, and quite decisive.



WASHINGTON, D.C.

For up-to-date event information, consult our Calendar of Events. The free Calendar is available from Calendar of Events, National Archives Foundation (Room G-12), 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20408, or on the web at www.archives.gov/calendar/.

Permanent exhibit: "The Public Vaults." National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Permanent exhibit: "Records of Rights." Rubenstein Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Continuing exhibit: "Spirited Republic." Lawrence F. O'Brien Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Through October 28. Featured Document Display: Japan's Official Instrument of Surrender, formally ending the Second World War. East Rotunda Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

Opening October 29. Featured Document Display: Coca Cola bottle patent in celebration of its 100th anniversary. East Rotunda Gallery. National Archives Building. 202-357-5000.

ABILENE, KANSAS

Continuing exhibit: "Be Ye Men of Valour: Allies of World War II." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

Continuing exhibit: "World War II Remembered: Leaders, Battles & Heroes." Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

September 18. Lecture: "Understanding Ike: Four Key Eisenhower Traits and Their Role in the Space Race," Yanek Mieczkowski. Visitor's Center Auditorium. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

October 14. Lecture: "Eisenhower and the Frontier," Tim Rives. Visitor's Center Auditorium. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

October 16. Author lecture: *America Invades*, Christopher Kelly. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

October 29. Brown Bag Luncheon: "Ike and Dutch: Mentor, Protege and Common Sense," Gene Kopelson. Eisenhower Library. 785-263-6700.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Through September 2015: "Drawdown Vietnam, April–May 1975." Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

October 8. Author lecture: *The Strategist: Brent Scowcroft and the Call of National Security*, Bartholomew Sparrow. Ford Library. 734-205-0555.



October 27. Author lecture: *The Partisan Divide: Congress in Crisis*, Tom Davis and Marin Frost. Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

November 12. Author lecture: *Lady Bird and Lyndon: The Hidden Story Behind a Marriage That Made a President*, Betty Caroli. Ford Library. 734-205-0555.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

September 28. Author lecture: *My Southern Journey: True Stories from the Heart of the South*, Rick Bragg. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 6. Author lecture: *A Life in Red: A Story of Forbidden Love, the Great Depression, and the Communist Fight for a Black Nation in the Deep South*, David Beasley. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 16. Author lecture: *A Boy from Georgia: Coming of Age in the Segregated South*, Kathleen Jordan. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 20. Author lecture: *Between the World and Me*, Ta-Nahesi Coates. Tickets required. Carter Center's Cecil B. Day Chapel. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 22. Author lecture: *Fast Forward: How Women Can Achieve Power & Purpose*, Melanne Vermeer & Kim Azzarelli. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

October 27. Author lecture: *Grant Park*, Leonard Pitts. Carter Library. 404-865-7100.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Ladies and Gentlemen . . . The Beatles!" Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

October 1. 50th Anniversary of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, with Tom Gjelten and Dr. Victoria DeFrancesco Soto. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

October 20. An Evening with Ken Adelman and H. W. Brands. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

The Beatles! exhibit at the Johnson Library.

November 18. LBJ Liberty & Justice for All Award Dinner, Awardees Eric Holder and James E. Clyburn. Presented in Washington, D.C. Johnson Library. 512-721-0200.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Continuing exhibit: "Presidential Getaway: JFK on Cape Cod." Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

October 3. Forum: *A Nation of Nations: A Great American Immigration Story*, with author Tom Gjelten. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

October 27. Forum: Tribute to Bob Schieffer. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

November 2. Forum: *Being Nixon*, with author Evan Thomas. Moderated by Tim Naftali. Kennedy Library. 866-JFK-1960.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

October 10. Open House: "Chicago Open Archives: Collecting and Connecting." For tours, call to register. National Archives at Chicago. 773-948-9001.

COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

Continuing exhibit: "Americans with Disabilities Act—Twenty Five Years." Bush Library. 979-691-4000.

DALLAS, TEXAS

Through October 4. Exhibit: "Baseball: America's Presidents, America's Pastime." George W. Bush Library. 214.346-1557.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

Through October 11. ArtPrize 2015. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

October 22. Author lecture: *Being Nixon: A Man Divided*, Evan Thomas. Ford Museum. 616-254-0400.

HYDE PARK, NEW YORK

Continuing exhibit: “Gifts of State and Affection.” Roosevelt Library. 845-486-7745.

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Continuing exhibit: “Till We Meet Again: The Greatest Generation in War and Peace.” Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

September 23, 30. White Glove Wednesdays: Artifacts from Our Collections. Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

September 24. WWII Lecture Series: Carol Anderson, “We Fight! Red Tails, Black Soldiers and the Civil Rights Movement.” Truman Library. 816-268-8200.

October 10. Talkin’ Truman: Harry S. Truman and the Saints. Truman Library. 816-268-8200.



A small bronze replica of a sculpture containing earth from the graves of American soldiers in France, at the Truman Library.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Ongoing exhibit: “All Sewn Up: The Garment Industry Goes to Court.” National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

September 23. Author Lecture: *The Buffalo Soldiers: Their Epic Story and Major Campaigns*, Debra Sheffer. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

October 1. Civil Rights and Liberties Film Series: *Free Angela and All Political Prisoners*. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

October 8. Author lecture: *The President and the Apprentice: Eisenhower and Nixon, 1952–1961*, Irwin Gellman. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

October 15. Panel Discussion: “Diversity and Inclusion: How Does Kansas City Rate?” National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

October 29. Author lecture: *The Country Club District of Kansas City*, LaDene Morton. National Archives at Kansas City. 816-268-8000.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Continuing exhibit: “Dinosaurs Around the World.” Clinton Library. 501-374-4242.

MORROW, GEORGIA

September 19. Symposium: “The Long Summer: The Cold War and the American South.” National Archives at Atlanta. 770-968-2100.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Ongoing exhibit: “New York on the Record: Spirited Republic.” National Archives at New York City. 866-840-1752.

SIMI VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

Continuing exhibit: “Football! The Exhibition.” Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

November 19–22. Exhibit: The Wall That Heals, Vietnam Veteran’s Travelling Wall. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

October 9. Speaker: Terry Bradshaw. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

October 13. Author lecture: *In This Together: My Story*, Ann Romney. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

October 14. Author lecture: *Last Act: The Final Years and Emerging Legacy of Ronald Reagan*, Craig Shirley. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

October 20. Author lectures: *Duplicity*, Newt Gingrich, and *Christmas in America*, Callista Gingrich. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

October 26. Author lecture: Jack Kemp: *The Bleeding Heart Conservative Who Changed America*, Fred Barnes and Mort Kondrake. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

November 4. Author lecture: Peggy Noonan. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

November 7. Reagan National Defense Forum, including Secretary of Defense Ash Carter. Reagan Library. 805-522-2977.

WEST BRANCH, IOWA

Continuing exhibit: “The Making of the Great Humanitarian.” Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

October 18. Author lecture: *The House of Moffit*, by Richard L. DeGowin. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

November 11. Lecture: “The Life and Love of George Sizer,” an Iowa Civil War volunteer, by Mark DePue. Hoover Library. 319-643-5301.

YORBA LINDA, CALIFORNIA

Through September 27: Exhibit: “Read My Pins: The Madeleine Albright Collection.” Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

Through November 15: Exhibit: “Discovery and Recovery: Preserving Iraqi Jewish Heritage.” Nixon Library. 714-983-9120.

GENEALOGY EVENTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Genealogy workshops are conducted throughout the year. For up-to-date information, consult the monthly Calendar of Events and www.archives.gov/research/genealogy/events/.

DENVER, COLORADO

September 21–23. Fall series of genealogical workshops. Contact for schedule. National Archives at Denver. 303-407-5740.

October 24. Participation in Annual Black Genealogy Search Group of Denver Family History Fair, Denver Public Library. National Archives at Denver. 303-407-5740.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS

October 2. The Genealogical Significance of the WWI Draft Registration Card. National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

November 6. Overview of Military Records at NARA. National Archives at Fort Worth. 817-831-5620.

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

October 13. Finding Family: Using The National Archives Online Resources. Register: newyork.archives@nara.gov or 866-840-1752. National Archives at New York.

November 10. Finding Family: Were you burned by the 1973 fire? Register: newyork.archives@nara.gov or 866-840-1752. National Archives at New York.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

October 8, November 12. Brick Wall Workshop. Call to register. National Archives at Seattle. 206-336-5115.

Historian Allen Weinstein, Author, 10th Archivist, Dies

Historian Allen Weinstein, who specialized in Cold War espionage and served as Archivist of the United States from 2005 to 2008, died June 18 of pneumonia in a Maryland nursing home. He had been suffering from Parkinson's disease. He was 77.

Professor Weinstein was famous for his 1978 book, *Perjury: the Hiss-Chambers Case*. It presented a large amount of evidence that argued former State Department official Alger Hiss was indeed a spy for the Soviet Union.

As Archivist, he oversaw a one-third increase in congressional funding, an overhaul in how the government classifies and declassifies documents, the launch of the Electronic Records Archives, and an expansion of education and museum programs to raise the level of civic literacy.

Professor Weinstein also oversaw the transfer of the private Nixon Library to the Archives, a major initiative to eliminate the enormous backlog of unprocessed records, and various programs aimed at increasing access to documents and the agency's public profile.

Born in New York City to Russian Jewish immigrants, Professor Weinstein graduated from City College of New York before earning his master's degree and doctorate in history from Yale. Over the years, he taught history at Smith College, Georgetown University, and Boston University.

Professor Weinstein was also active in the international area. He founded the Center for Democracy in 1985 and served as its president and organized election observer missions to various countries. The United Nations awarded him its peace medal in 1986, and he twice received the Council of Europe's Silver Medal.

Professor Weinstein once recalled that when he began to write *Perjury*, he was convinced Hiss was innocent, but after assembling the evidence, concluded he was guilty. He was attacked by many pro-Hiss liberals but won approval from others, including the liberal Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who called it "the most objective and convincing account we have of the most dramatic court case of the century," the *New York Times* reported.

In 1999, Professor Weinstein co-authored, with a former KGB agent with access to Soviet archives, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—the Stalin Era*.

Professor Weinstein is survived by his wife, two sons, and a stepson.



did not object, but withheld the transcripts of Greenglass, Elitcher, and William Danziger due to their objections. The court indicated that these transcripts could be released upon their deaths, which has now occurred for Greenglass and Elitcher.

Kurt Graham Appointed Truman Library Director

Kurt Graham, formerly head of the Church History Museum in Salt Lake City, Utah, is the new director of the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum in Independence, Missouri. He succeeded Michael Devine, who retired.

At the Church History Museum, Graham spearheaded the development and redesign of the museum's principal history exhibit, which included several significant multimedia components.



Earlier, Graham served as the director of the McCracken Research Library at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West in Cody, Wyoming. There, he orchestrated the digitization of some of the library's most important archival collections; oversaw the physical renovation of the library's public spaces; managed the center's fellowship program; and launched a documentary editing project, *The Papers of William F. Cody*.

At California State University, San Bernardino, Graham taught undergraduate and graduate courses in American political and legal and constitutional history. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in English and American studies, respectively, from Brigham Young University and a doctorate in American history from Brown University.

"Dr. Graham's outstanding background leading both archival and museum institutions will benefit the Truman Library and the National Archives. Please join me in welcoming him to the National Archives," said Archivist David Ferriero in announcing the appointment.

More Transcripts Opened Of Rosenberg Grand Jury

The National Archives made available four additional formerly secret grand jury testimony transcripts of two witnesses from the trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The records, posted at www.archives.gov/research/court-records/rosenberg-jury.html on July 15, 2015, consist of 105 pages of transcripts of grand jury proceedings from August 1950 through March 1951.

One transcript of the testimony of David

Greenglass and two transcripts of Max Elitcher were opened in full. One additional transcript of Elitcher contains redactions on three pages to protect the personal privacy of other persons who may still be living.

These additional records were opened in response to a court order (dated May 19, 2015) ordering their release because the witnesses are now deceased. In 2008 the court ordered the release of transcripts for the 43 Rosenberg grand jury witnesses who were deceased or

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Documents on Loan

National Archives documents and artifacts are on display in museums across the country—and not just in our own archives and presidential libraries. The documents described here are out on loan to museums and other institutions.

American Indian Treaties

“Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indians” at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., features Indian treaties from the National Archives, rotated into the exhibition every six months. The 1851 Horse Creek Treaty between the United States and the Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Sioux Nations will be displayed September 17, 2015, through mid-March 2016.

Ernest Hemingway Exhibit

The Kennedy Library in Boston is joining with the Morgan Library to present the first-ever major exhibition on the life and writings of Ernest Hemingway. The exhibition will run at the Morgan Library in New York City from September 25, 2015, through January 2016; it will then travel to Boston to open at the Kennedy Library in March 2016. Some 70 documents, as well as several artifacts from the Kennedy Library's Hemingway Collection, are on loan to the Morgan Library to be featured in the exhibition.

Other Loans

Watergate break-in tools, ca. 1972. Richard Nixon Library, Yorba Linda, California. Through February 29, 2016.

Rotation of documents from the Center for Legislative Archives. Capitol Visitor Center, Washington, D.C., “E Pluribus Unum.” Indefinitely.

FBI Model of Dealey Plaza, 1964. Sixth Floor Museum, Dallas, Texas. Indefinitely.

From the Presidential Libraries

Harry S. Truman Library

453 coins, representing nearly every type of coin minted by the U.S. Mint from George Washington to Jimmy Carter. Museum of the

Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri, “Truman Coin Collection.” Indefinitely.

Lyndon B. Johnson Library

NASA hard hat, models, flags, plaque, patch, invitation, flag. Museum of the Coastal Bend, Victoria, Texas, “Above Texas Skies: Space Exploration in the Texas Coastal Bend.” Indefinitely.

Richard Nixon Library

First Lady Pat Nixon's red dress and coat. Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio, “Dressed for Life: First Ladies' & Red Dress Collection.” Through December 31, 2015.

Sony four speed/servo control audio recorder. National Constitution Center, Philadelphia Pennsylvania, “The Story of We, the People.” Through November 30, 2015.

Jade ewer and carved wood base. National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C., “The American Presidency: A Glorious Burden.” Through October 31, 2015.

Gerald R. Ford Museum

First Lady Betty Ford's red dress and jacket. Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio, “Dressed for Life: First Ladies' & Red Dress Collection.” Through December 31, 2015.

Ronald Reagan Library

First Lady Nancy Reagan's red dress. Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio, “Dressed for Life: First Ladies' & Red Dress Collection.” Through December 31, 2015.

George Bush Library

Cowboy boots and Stetson hat. Bullock Texas State History Museum, Austin, Texas. Indefinitely.

William J. Clinton Library

Vintage bicycle. The Old State House Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas, “Different Spokes.” Through February 2016.

Foundation Hosts First-Ever July 4th Giveaway

The storm clouds opened just as our annual July 4th celebration was about to begin, but the show went on without a hitch as we all scurried inside to hear Revolutionary War actors read the Declaration of Independence at the William G. McGowan Theater.

Each year, the Foundation is proud to partner with the Archives to host our national birthday party as we welcome thousands of visitors to the home of the original Declaration and the Charters of Freedom.

On behalf of the Board of Directors, I am pleased to thank our sponsors: John Hancock Financial, which continues its generous support of the breakfast and celebration for the 11th year, and Dykema, which is back for a fourth year. The Coca-Cola Company joined us for the first time as it celebrates the 100th anniversary of the Coke bottle patent. We also thank American Heritage Chocolate and Mars, Incorporated, whose chocolate historians sweeten our day with delicious treats on July 4th and at other events throughout the year.



In June the Foundation launched a nationwide giveaway inviting a group of four to join the celebration at the Archives and experience July 4th. The prize package included round-trip airfare for four courtesy of Southwest Airlines, and a three-night hotel stay courtesy of the Grand Hyatt Washington. We received more than 11,000 entries.

Queens, New York, resident Sharon Boyle won the contest and left no stone unturned! While in D.C., Boyle and her guests enjoyed the annual July 4th parade and explored the National Archives' many activities. As part of the giveaway prize package, she also attended a Washington Nationals baseball game and visited most of the District's major monuments.

Boyle—no stranger to the treasures within the National Archives—is currently working on a collaborative project with her younger sister to construct their family tree. Research has included work within the National Archives of Ireland; Monaghan County Museum and Library, Co. Monaghan, Ireland; the Carrickmacross Workhouse, Co. Monaghan, Ireland in her hometown; and U.S. census and naturalization records. The Irish native became passionate about genealogy as she struggled to keep up with her mother's family stories.

The July 4th giveaway is just one example of the many ways the Foundation continues to expand engagement with new audiences and tell the world about the incredible treasure of federal government records the Archives makes available to the American people.

To learn more about the activities the Foundation is involved in please visit our website at archivesfoundation.org and sign up for our free monthly newsletter.

A'Leia Bundles

A'Leia Bundles
Chair
National Archives Foundation

McGowan Charitable Fund's Diana Spencer Joins Foundation Board of Directors



Diana Spencer

The Foundation is pleased to announce the election of Diana Spencer to its Board of Directors. Spencer has served as executive director of the William G. McGowan Charitable Fund since May 2006.

"We are absolutely delighted to welcome Diana to the board," said Archives Foundation Board Chair A'Leia Bundles. "From our work together through the years on the annual McGowan Forums, we already know she is a most collegial and thoughtful partner. We look forward to her expertise and her positive spirit."

As the McGowan Fund's first full-time executive director, Spencer launched a PBS documentary titled *Long Distance Warrior*, which highlighted former CEO of MCI William McGowan and the battle with AT&T over a monopolized telecommunications industry. The film debuted in 2010 at the National Archives and was distributed via PBS stations across the country.

During her tenure, Spencer has helped launch the McGowan Fellows Program, a full scholarship program for 10 second-year MBA candidates at leading universities. With her team and university partners, the McGowan Fund holds an annual Symposium on Business Leadership & Ethics, with the overarching goal of raising the dialogue from corporate profitability only, to profitability, social impact, and responsibility.

In 2013, Spencer helped create a program to prevent early childhood obesity. Healthy Way to Grow, delivered by the American Heart Association, works with childcare providers and families to improve nutrition, hydration, screen time, and exercise. It is the first program launched simultaneously across all McGowan Fund communities.

Prior to her role at the McGowan Charitable Fund, Spencer served as the director of external relations at the University of Pittsburgh, where she educated the public and government about therapies in regenerative medicine.

Long-time supporter and board member Sue Gin McGowan, who passed away last year, and her late husband, William McGowan, were tireless partners in the Foundation's efforts to engage and reach young people, and the professionals and parents who teach them. Generosity through the support of the William G. McGowan Charitable Fund has left an indelible mark, providing support for free educational programming to diverse audiences from across the nation and the world and helping the Archives share with the more than 1 million annual visitors from around the world the historical significance and modern relevance of the records of our democracy.

The Coca-Cola Company Supports Featured Document Exhibit

As part of the 100th anniversary celebration of the iconic contour-shaped Coca-Cola bottle, The Coca-Cola Company is sponsoring the public display of several rare and invaluable documents at the National Archives through November 2015.

“We appreciate Coca-Cola’s generous sponsorship, which enables the Archives to give the public access to some of the rarest documents in U.S. History,” said National Archives Foundation Executive Director Patrick M. Madden.

In addition to documents from the American Revolution, the civil rights movement, and World War II, the original design patent and a 1915 Coca-Cola bottle were on display during June and July 2015 in a special West Rotunda Gallery exhibition, and will be again in November 2015 as part of the “Featured Document” exhibit.

“The Coca-Cola bottle has an intriguing story, from innovative design to an American icon across the globe. We are delighted that members of the public will have the opportunity to view the patent this year and connect history to popular culture,” added Madden.

In 1915, the Root Glass Company of Terre Haute, Indiana, came up with a unique bottle design after Coca-Cola launched a national competition to generate a new package for the beverage that would distinguish it from others. The design brief called for “a bottle so distinct you would recognize it by feel in the dark or lying broken on the ground.” The Root Glass Company’s submission was patented on November 16, 1915, and is one of the most successful commercial designs of all time.

“The patent is where the history of the Coca-Cola bottle begins,” said Ted Ryan, director of heritage communications for The Coca-Cola Company. “In 1915, Coca-Cola endeavored to strengthen its trademark, never dreaming the proprietary package would inspire such nostalgia and creativity for a century to come. We are honored to partner with the National Archives to share the contour bottle design patent and important records in our country’s history with D.C. residents and visitors.”

John Hancock, Dykema, and The Coca-Cola Company Sponsor July 4th Celebration

The Foundation was pleased to support the National Archives’ annual July 4th celebration, which welcomed thousands of people to celebrate the nation’s birth at the home of the Declaration of Independence.

The annual Independence Day celebration, which included patriotic music, a dramatic reading of the Declaration, and free family activities, was presented in partnership with the Foundation through the generous support of Signature Sponsor John Hancock. Major support was provided by The Coca-Cola Company and Dykema.

The program featured historical reenactors “Thomas Jefferson,” “John Adams,” “Abigail Adams,” and “Benjamin Franklin” reading the colonists’ grievances against King George III, and leading the theater audience in “huzzahs” as the names of the signers were read aloud. Musical entertainment was provided by the U.S. Army 3rd Infantry “The Old Guard” Fife and Drum Corps, and Christopher Ullman, four-time international whistling champion.

The public program followed the Foundation’s annual Promise of America Breakfast and a private program and tours for Foundation supporters and their guests. The Archivist and the Foundation’s board joined Foundation Chair and President A’Lelia Bundles, Executive Director Patrick M. Madden, John Hancock’s Vice President and Counsel for External Affairs and Investigative Services Tom Samoluk, Coca-Cola’s Director of Heritage Communications Ted Ryan, and Dykema’s Washington, D.C., Office Managing Member Paul Laurenza and his wife, Ann Maria, to participate in the breakfast program.

Other special guests included members of Congress and their families, Foundation board members Cokie Roberts and Deborah Ratner Salzberg, and the July 4th “Win a Trip to DC” giveaway winner, Sharon Boyle.

Representatives from American Heritage Chocolate were also on hand during the breakfast and throughout the day to provide colonial-era chocolate demonstrations and tastings in the Archives’ Visitor Orientation Plaza.



Foundation Board Vice President Cokie Roberts (right) with Coca-Cola’s Director of Heritage Communications Ted Ryan at July 4th at the National Archives.

EDGAR A. POE

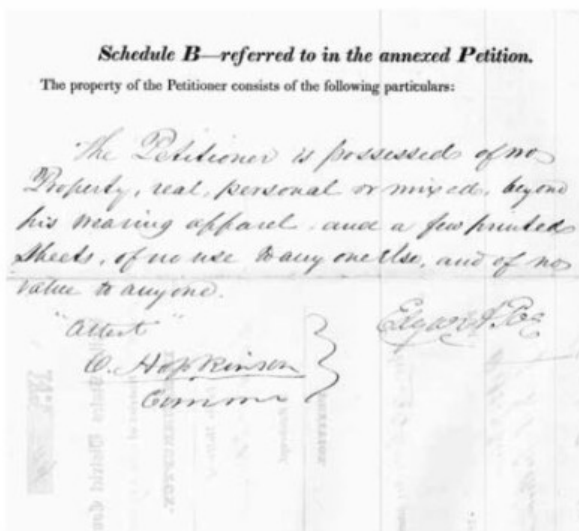
"posessed of no Property"

A large part of the research done in National Archives records is about looking for information about people. Much of that work is devoted to trying to fill out family stories, but once in a while something turns up about someone whose life has seemingly been fully documented.

Edgar Allen Poe is one of the most famous American writers, and his personal and professional struggles are well known. Poe was often in financial straits, but until an archivist came across his case file nearly 14 years ago, no one knew that he had filed for bankruptcy in 1842, while living in Philadelphia.

On the petition to the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, Poe described his profession as "late editor" and declared that he was "posessed of no Property, real, personal or mixed, beyond his wearing apparel, and a few printed sheets, of no use to any one else, and of no value to anyone."

Schedule A of the petition is a detailed list of debts, showing the names of creditors, their addresses, the nature of the debts, and the amounts owed. The amounts range from \$4.00 to \$169.10. Several book dealers appear on the list as well as debts for medical attention, music lessons (for his wife), rent, and cash lent by people from Virginia to New York. **P**



Schedule A—referred to in the annexed Petition.
Debts owing by the Petitioner:

Names of Creditors	Residence	Nature of debt	Amount
J. W. Allingh	Philad ^a 3 ^d St. bet. Chesnut & Locust	Acct of hand	\$ 169.10
J. V. Conell	" 7 th & Chestnut St	" " "	7.50
Sam ^l Able & Simment	" 3 ^d & Chestnut St	" " "	32.25
Benj ⁿ Matthias	" Vine Street	" " "	20.00
Chas ^l Watson & Son	" Chestnut bet. 3 ^d & 4 th St	" " "	105.50
John S. Rieders	" 4 th above Walnut St	Radio hire	50.00
Dr Wm ^m Schapp	" 2 ^d above Chestnut	Med ^l attendance	about 50.00
Dr Wm ^m Brunkle	" Arch near 13 th	do do	50.00
John Gray & Son	" 2 ^d & Christian	Book debt	40.71
H. Mauch & Fildes & Co	" " "	do	15.00
J. M. Anner	" 2 ^d & South	do	19.50
Sam ^l E. Caldwell	" Chestnut bet. 3 ^d & 4 th St	do	12.00
Mrs E. Ruxton	" 11 th W. near Vine	disputa claim	100.00
Nicholas Biddle	" Spruce " 7 th	Money advanced	20.00
Rich ^d Brunkle	" "	Book debt	15.00
Robert's Walker & Eldershaw	" "	book debt	6.00
Ann Hughes	" old 2 ^d bet. Chestnut & Locust	Rent of meat	5.00
Thomas Wells	" 2 ^d & 3 ^d near Locust	Book debt	24.00
Hugh Miller	" 2 ^d & 3 ^d near Locust	do	8.00
Chas ^l Alderman	" Chestnut bet. 3 ^d & 4 th St	do	40.00
John C. Cox	" "	money lent	50.00
Geo ^l Wm ^m Drayton	" 13 th bet. Spruce & 14 th	do	150.00
Louis A. Godoy	" Chestnut bet. 3 ^d & 4 th St	do	20.00
Ira Hildreth	" "	do	20.00
Rich ^d H. Crosby	" Richmond " 10 th	Acct of hand	150.50
Chas ^l Miller	" do	do	155.00
E. S. Barnhart	" do	Book debt	129.30
E. H. Franklin	" do	do	9.00
Rich ^d Sanvay	" do	do	10.00
Josephine Taylor	" do	do	25.00
Philip K. Taylor	" do	Music tuition	40.00
Frederick Anderson	" do	Money lent	20.00
David Bridges	" do	" " "	30.00
Chas ^l Gall	" do	" " "	75.00
Wm ^m Gall	" do	" " "	20.00
A. P. Howard	" do	" " "	100.00
Robt. Starnard & Co	" do	" " "	150.00
E. A. Reynolds	" 10 th & University	" " "	10.00
Wm ^m Cullen Bryant	" do	" " "	52.00
J. N. Paulding	" do	" " "	20.00
H. Carriss	" do	Book debt	40.00
Jacobs	" do	Security, printed	50.00
Kisslaw	" do	Book debt	about 20.00
Joanna Grant	" do	do	15.00
Thos ^l Fenner	" Philad ^a 2 ^d St. bet. Chestnut & Locust	Acct of hand	27.50
Michael	" "	" "	"

Attest
O. Hopkinson
Clerk

Edgar A. Poe



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Administration
700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20408-0001
202-357-5400

and

8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-4001
301-837-2000

National Archives at Atlanta
5780 Jonesboro Road
Morrow, GA 30260-3806
770-968-2100

Atlanta Federal Records Center
4712 Southpark Boulevard
Ellenwood, GA 30294-3595
404-736-2820

National Archives at Boston and
Boston Federal Records Center
380 Trapelo Road
Waltham, MA 02452-6399
866-406-2379

National Archives at Chicago and
Chicago Federal Records Center
7358 South Pulaski Road
Chicago, IL 60629-5898
773-948-9001

Dayton Federal Records Center
3150 Springboro Road
Dayton, OH 45439-1883
937-425-0600

Dayton-Kingsridge Federal Records Center
8801 Kingsridge Drive
Dayton, OH 45458-1617
937-425-0601

National Archives at Denver and
Denver Federal Records Center
17101 Huron Street
Broomfield, CO 80023-8909
303-604-4740

National Archives at Fort Worth and
Fort Worth Federal Records Center
1400 John Burgess Drive
Fort Worth, TX 76140-6222
817-551-2000

National Archives at Fort Worth (microfilm)
2600 West Seventh Street, Ste. 162
Fort Worth, TX 76107-2244
817-831-5620

National Archives at Kansas City
400 West Pershing Road
Kansas City, MO 64108-4306
816-268-8000

Kansas City Federal Records Center
8600 NE Underground Drive, Pillar 300-g
Kansas City, MO 64161-9742
816-994-1700

Lee's Summit Federal Records Center
200 Space Center Drive
Lee's Summit, MO 64064-1182
816-288-8100

Lenexa Federal Records Center
17501 West 98th Street, Ste. 3150
Lenexa, KS 66219-1735
913-825-7600

National Archives at New York City
One Bowling Green
New York, NY 10004-1415
866-840-1752

National Archives at Philadelphia and
Federal Records Center
14700 Townsend Road
Philadelphia, PA 19154-1096
215-305-2000

Pittsfield Federal Records Center
10 Conte Drive
Pittsfield, MA 01201-8230
413-236-3610

National Archives at Riverside and
Riverside Federal Records Center
23123 Cajalco Road
Perris, CA 92572-7298
951-956-2000

National Archives at San Francisco and
San Francisco Federal Records Center
1000 Commodore Drive
San Bruno, CA 94066-2350
650-238-3500

National Archives at Seattle and
Seattle Federal Records Center
6125 Sand Point Way, NE
Seattle, WA 98115-7999
206-336-5115

National Archives at St. Louis and
National Personnel Records Center (Military)
1 Archives Drive
St. Louis, MO 63138-1002
314-801-0800

National Personnel Records Center (Civilian)
1411 Boulder Boulevard
Valmeyer, IL 62295-2603
618-935-3005

Washington National Records Center
4205 Suitland Road
Suitland, MD 20746-8001
301-778-1600

Presidential Libraries

Herbert Hoover Library
210 Parkside Drive
P.O. Box 488
West Branch, IA 52358-0488
319-643-5301
www.hoover.archives.gov

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538-1999
845-486-7770 / 800-337-8474
www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu

Harry S. Truman Library
500 West U.S. Highway 24
Independence, MO 64050-1798
816-268-8200 / 800-833-1225
www.trumanlibrary.org

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
200 Southeast Fourth Street
Abilene, KS 67410-2900
785-263-6700 / 877-746-4453
www.eisenhower.archives.gov

John F. Kennedy Library
Columbia Point
Boston, MA 02125-3398
617-514-1600 / 866-JFK-1960
www.jfklibrary.org

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, TX 78705-5702
512-721-0200
www.lbjlibrary.org

Richard Nixon Library
18001 Yorba Linda Boulevard
Yorba Linda, CA 92886-3903
714-983-9120
www.nixonlibrary.gov

Richard Nixon Library-College Park
8601 Adelphi Road
College Park, MD 20740-6001
301-837-3290

Gerald R. Ford Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2114
734-205-0555
www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov

Gerald R. Ford Museum
303 Pearl Street, NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504-5353
616-254-0400

Jimmy Carter Library
441 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307-1498
404-865-7100
www.jimmycarterlibrary.org

Ronald Reagan Library
40 Presidential Drive
Simi Valley, CA 93065-0600
805-577-4000 / 800-410-8354
www.reagan.utexas.edu

George Bush Library
1000 George Bush Drive
College Station, TX 77845-3906
979-691-4000
bushlibrary.tamu.edu

William J. Clinton Library
1200 President Clinton Avenue
Little Rock, AR 72201-1749
501-374-4242
www.clintonlibrary.gov

George W. Bush Library
2943 SMU Boulevard
Dallas, TX 75205-2563
214-346-1557
www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu

